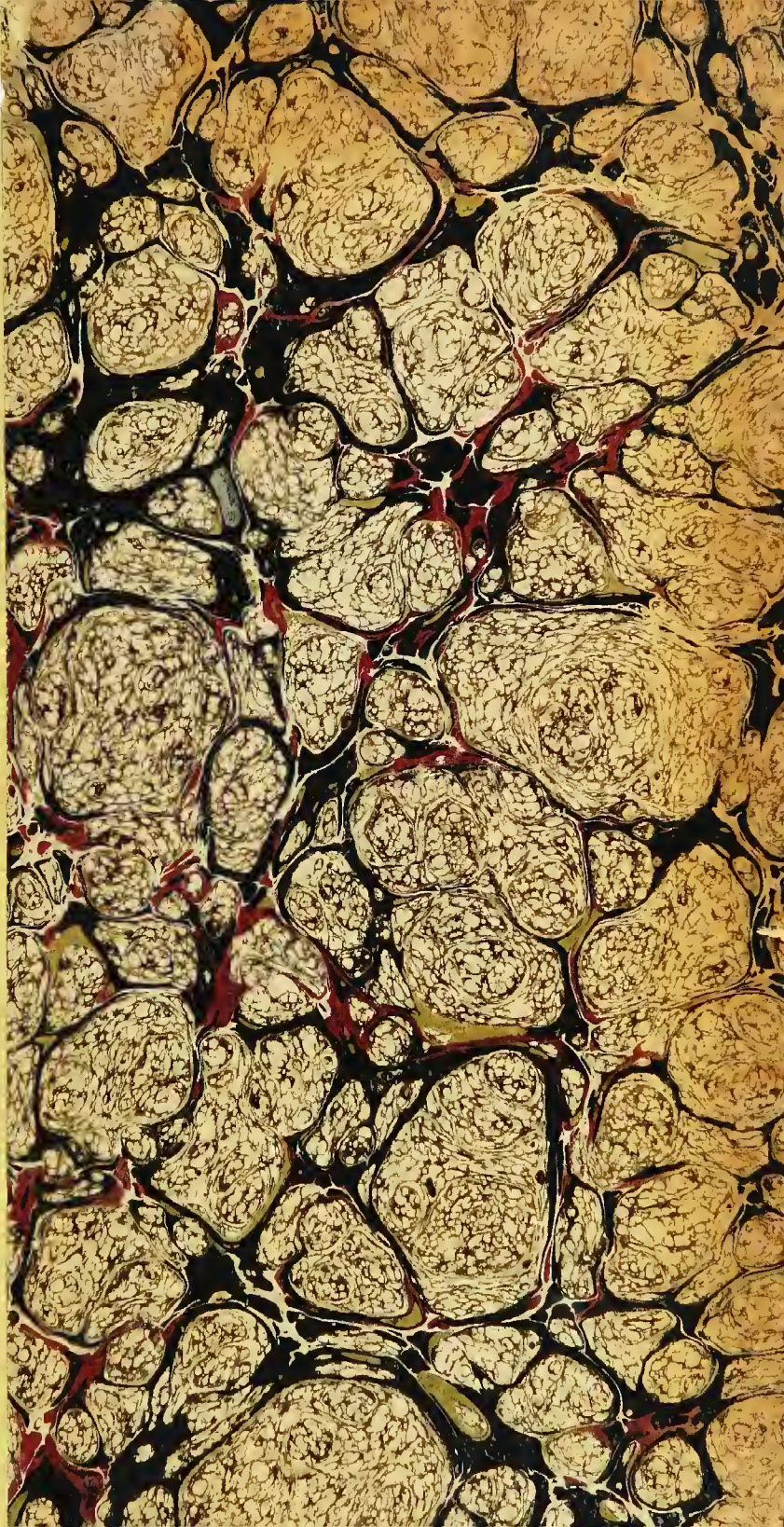
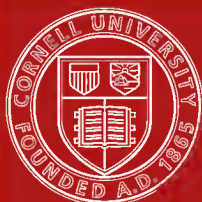


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ROBERT JEPHSON

AND HIS TRAGEDIES.



DISSERTATION

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Bern, den 26. Oktober 1912.

Der Dekan:
Prof. Dr. G. Huber.

Dedicated to my sisters.

Robert Jephson's life and works.

Robert Jephson's name is now remembered only by some few literary and biographical dictionaries. It is ignored even by students intimately acquainted with the works of Horace Walpole, who considered Jephson the greatest dramatist of his time, ranked him above Beaumont and Fletcher as a tragedian, and dedicated to him one of his works and about two dozens of letters. Miss Helene Richter (*Geschichte der englischen Romantik*, vol. I, p. 178), though she quotes from the „Thoughts on Tragedy“, spells the name of the man they were addressed to „Juphson“ and Mr. Moebius in his dissertation on the Gothic novel, disposes of him with the killing attribute of „a certain“, . . . who in the Count of Narbonne wrote a successful dramatic adaptation of the Castle of Otranto. —

Even Chambers has now dropped the name, though in former editions of the *Encyclopaedia* he praised our author for his stepping boldly forward with tragic composition in an age very little favourable to serious work in this line. Walpole's praise is not always a title to excellence, especially not in the eyes of the later 19th century critics, who still look at him through the glasses of Hazlitt and Macaulay and will not see anything but his glaring defects, by which they judge him „the most excentric, the most artificial, the most fastidious, the most capricious of men“, to whose mind „whatever was little seemed great and whatever was great seemed little“.

(Macaulay: Walpole's Letters.) The 20th century will have to come back to a more just and more impartial appreciation of this remarkable man, in whom Walter Scott acknowledged one of his masters, „who as a statesman, as a poet and a man of the world knew the world like a man“ (Scott, *Lives of the Novellists*, p. 210), who in his imperishable letters reflected the intellectual life of a whole age. His literary ambition was „to strike out new ways“. With the *Castle of Otranto* (1764) he opened the gate to the labyrinth of the Gothic novel. With the *Mysterious Mother* (1768) he had intended „to open new channels for tragedy“, but failed on account of the horrible subject. In Jephson however he believed to have discovered a man capable of effecting the reform of the stage, and of giving a new life and a new character to the English tragedy.

Robert Jephson was born in Ireland in 1736, as the son of well-to-do parents. His instruction he received in the private school of a certain Dr. Ford, in Molesworth Street, Dublin, where William Fitzmaurice Petty (afterwards first Marquis of Lansdowne), John Baker Holroyd (afterwards first Lord Sheffield) and Edmund Malone (the famous Shakespearian critic and editor) were his school-fellows and companions of age. Malone's biographers record frequent theatrical representations arranged by the boys and superintended by the actor Macklin, which no doubt greatly contributed to develop their literary, especially dramatic dispositions. Shakespeare was their favourite author. „From his historical plays“, says Jephson (Preface to *Roman Portraits*, p. XXIII), „were the first impressions which I received with any permanency from parts of the English history“. — After having made good classical studies at a Dublin college, he entered the army, in which he rose to the rank of a captain, in the 73d regiment of infantry. „The study of war“, says Baker, „did however

not totally engross Mr. Jephson's attention; the arts of peace and the belles lettres strongly occupied his mind". After the reduction of his regiment in 1763, he retired on half-pay and soon was granted a pension of 300 £, which was later doubled. Jephson then passed some years in comparative idleness as a member of the literary London society. In 1767 he married a daughter of Sir Edward Barry, an eminent physician and author of some medical works (Dict. Nat. Biogr., vol. III, p. 314). Soon after his marriage Jephson accepted the post of „Master of the Horse“ to Viscount Townshend, who had just been elected Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; in this office he served twelve succeeding viceroys. In Dublin „Captain Jephson“, as he was usually called, „acquired high reputation by his convivial disposition and his felicity in ludicrous compositions“. (J. T. Gilbert, F. S. A.) With much wit and humour and great success he defended Lord Townshend's character and administration both in the press and in Parliament, where he had obtained a seat in 1774. „When on the 11th of Feb. 1774 a great debate came on, respecting a bill to relax the severity of the laws against the Papists, Captain Jephson took a conspicuous part, and made a very long and eloquent speech in their favour, quitting on that occasion his usual satirical turn, which had obtained him the name of the Mortal Momus“. (Baker.) — Under Lord Harcourt, Townshend's first successor, Jephson does not seem to have had countenance shown him at the castle as before, and on the general election in 1776 he lost his seat, but was soon returned as a member for Old Leighlin in the county of Carlow, which seat he kept for above twenty years. He did however not distinguish himself so much as formerly, as he devoted most of his time, not absorbed by the duties of his office at the castle, to literary labours. In old age he retired to a country residence at Black Rock near Dublin, where he died from

paralysis on the 31st of May 1803, having to the last taken a lively interest in learning, politics and arts.

To this man had fallen the enviable lot of finding devoted and untiring friends, whose assistance did more to establish the poet's fame than his own exertions, especially during the time of his voluntary exile in Ireland, when he could not himself attend to the publication of his plays and their production on the London theatres. With these cares he used to trust Ed. Malone his oldest and most faithful friend, who, according to Walpole's testimony „supervised with great zeal and judgement the printing and the rehearsals“. He wrote also some critics and recommendations for his friend to the newspapers and composed the epilogue to the Count of Narbonne and the prologue to Julia. Jephson acquitted himself of the debt of gratitude by dedicating to Malone the Roman Portraits, where he writes in the introductory address: „... having long wished for some fair opportunity of doing myself credit by publicly subscribing myself your friend, none seems likely to occur more favourable than the present. From our schooldays to this hour we have lived in a state of uninterrupted intimacy and kindness: natives of the same country, educated under the same masters, and pursuing similar studies, though we have not taken exactly the same path, both have been zealous in the cause of letters. Your labours have furnished instruction to the readers and mine perhaps in a small degree may contribute to their entertainment; nor can I be insensible to the honour you have done me, when I reflect that the best commentator on our greatest poet has condescended more than once to be my editor . . .“

Arthur Murphy, the dramatist, had gone to the same school as Malone and Jephson. He was however by some years their senior and had already produced some of his best works (*Grecian Daughter* 1772), when Jephson

came forward with his first tragedy. Murphy launched him on the stage with an excellent prologue to Braganza, in which he says of the author, that:

„Vig'rous he comes and warm
from Shakespeare's school.“¹⁾

Other Irish friends, often only too eager to serve Jephson's interests were O'Keefe, the actor and playwright and Mr. Thighe, who first read to Horace Walpole and a noble circle at Mrs. Weesey's academy some passages from Braganza (Walpole, Letters, vol. VI, p. 186) and busied himself again about the Count of Narbonne (Walpole, Letters, vol. VIII, p. 108). One, whom Walpole calls Mr. O'Quarrel (Walpole, Letters, vol. VIII, p. 109) worried both Jephson and Walpole about the standing or cumbent statue of Alphonso in the Count of Narbonne. I am inclined to believe this O'Quarrel to be identical with O'Keefe, who a few years later cut down Jephson's comic opera of „the Campaign or Love in the East Indies“, to a musical entertainment, giving it the new title of „Love and War“.

During his stay in London (1763—68), Jephson was often the guest of Sir Gerard Hamilton (Single Speech Hamilton, Walpole, Letters, vol. II, p. 484, 510). The protection of this nobleman procured to Jephson some most valuable acquaintances among the men of eminence in literature and art, as: „unrivalled and all-accomplished Burke“ (Notes to Roman Portraits, p. XXX), who was then a kind of private secretary to Single Speech Hamilton; Goldsmith, then at the height of his fame as a poet (the Traveller, 1761); Dr. Johnson, and his great pupil Garrick; Reynolds, Burney, Charles Townshend, then secretary at war, and Horace Walpole. „From

¹⁾ „An useful piece of information, as it is what one would not have thought of, without being told.“ (Genest. Account, Fol. V, p. 449.)

a letter, written by Jephson in September 1763, it would appear that he had been befriended in a substantial manner by Garrick, but the latter, writing in 65, implies that Jephson's conduct towards him was less satisfactory than he had expected". (J. T. Gilbert, Dict. Nat. Biogr.) Offended jealousy or resentment, of real wrongs may therefore have been one of the reasons of Garrick's refusing *Vitellia* in 1776.

Of Jephson's later Dublin friends must be mentioned: Mr. and Mrs. Bingham, who induced Walpole to superintend the rehearsals of *Braganza* and to write the epilogue to it; Lady Nuneham, to whom *Braganza* was dedicated, and Charles Manners, Duke of Rutland, one of Lord Townshend's successors in the Lord-Lieutenancy, to whom *Julia* was dedicated.

The richest however of Jephson's friendships proved that with Horace Walpole (Lord Orford). Their old acquaintance grew more intimate through the care Walpole bestowed on the representation of *Braganza*, and through the correspondence which ensued on the subject. Three of his letters Walpole prized so highly as to publish them separately and to include them afterwards in his works as „*Thoughts on Tragedy*“. Walpole's praise and friendly criticism induced Jephson to send him also his succeeding works, before publishing them. Again this friendship it was, which gave Jephson the idea of adopting the *Castle of Otranto* for the theatre; — and Walpole, in his turn, felt himself obliged by the honour thus done to the favourite child of his fancy, to venture once more out of his voluntary retirement, and to superintend the rehearsals of the *Count of Narbonne*.²⁾ A trifling question of detail (whether the statue of *Alphonso* was meant to

²⁾ From this time dates also Walpole's acquaintance with Malone, on whom he never failed to call in the morning, when he was in London.

be erect or cumbent), engrossed by the correspondence of O'Quarrel, estranged them for ever, though Walpole's last letter (from the 3d of Dec. 1781) was written in the most conciliatory, polite and obliging terms.³⁾ The fault in the deplorable incident was altogether Jephson's own, who did not even wait for Walpole's explications, but wrote to him two letters full of reproaches in one week. (Walpole, Letters, vol. VIII, p. 116.)

The same play which deprived Jephson of Walpole's friendship, secured to him that of John Philip Kemble. The great actor, then at the Smock Alley Theatre, Dublin, excelled in the character of Raymund (C. Narb.) which remained one of his favourite parts. Jephson introduced his new friend to the eminences of Dublin society, and Kemble, in his turn, when he had removed to London, showed his gratitude by using all his influence in favour of Jephson's plays.

Speaking on Jephson's character, Hardy in his memoirs of Lord Charlemont, says: „ . . . he was much caressed and sought after by several of the first societies of Dublin, as he possessed much wit and pleasantry, and, when not overcome by the spleen, was extremely amusing and entertaining“. (Quoted also by Cunningham, Walpole, Letters, vol. VI, p. 457.)

Monsieur Lefebure-Cauchy, who wrote the article on Jephson for the *Biographie Universelle* says, that when

³⁾ In a letter to Mason (vol. VIII, p. 116) he says however . . . „I do not wonder he is a poet, for he is distracted: he shall act his next play himself for me . . . (Walpole, Letters vol VIII, p. 116).

From Mason's answer to it (Dec. 16 th. 1781). I quote: „ . . . I should have congratulated you on the success of your son Jephson's tragedy, to which filiation you had certainly as good a claim as Homer had to either of his dramatic bantlings Sophocles and Euripides; but while I was framing a fine period for the purpose, a letter from you stops me, by telling me, that he is in his Lunes“ (Walpole, Letters vol VIII, p. 118).

the Captain lived in London (63—68) he was already well known for his success on the theatre. Whether he had already started dramatic or literary composition of any kind, cannot be determined; none are extant from this time. He may rather have produced himself occasionally as an actor, as he did do so again, even in later life.⁴⁾

Probably his first appearance in print he made in Ireland. „During Lord Townshend's ever memorable viceroyalty (1768—81)“, relates Baker, „Mr. Jephson, Mr. Courtenay, the Rev. Mr. Boroughs and others equally well qualified for the task, wrote a collection of essays, called the Bachelor, or speculations of Geoffrey Wagstaffe, which completely succeeded in putting down and turning into ridicule the enemies to his government and enriched the world with a collection, which for genuine wit and humour, has rarely been equalled, perhaps never excelled“.

In 1771 appeared two facetious productions of Jephson: „an Epistle to George Edmund Howard, Esq., with notes Explanatory, Critical and Historical by George Faulkner Alderman“. It was in due time followed by „an Epistle to George Faulkner, Alderman, by G. E. Howard“. In these two satires Howard's bombastic dramatic compositions and Faulkner's confused, jumbled style were successfully ridiculed.⁵⁾ The Epistles passed

⁴⁾ On the 19th of January 1777 for instance, he acted the part of Macbeth at Phenix Park Theatre in Dublin (Gilbert, Dict. Nat. Biogr.).

⁵⁾ Faulkner was one of the four Dublin printers whom Richardson accused of having pirated Pamela. — Swift called him „the Prince of Dublin printers“ (Dict. Nat. Biogr.). — Howard was a dull legal compiler, whose attempts to achieve literary fame failed signally. — His dramatic compositions formed the subject of an ironical letter by Burke to Garrick (Dict. Nat. Biogr.).

through nine editions and were included in Dilly's „Repository“.⁶⁾

The twelve years, from 1775 to 87 form the most fruitful period of Jephson's life. In it appeared all his dramatic works. First the three tragedies, on which his fame will rest, and which I have chosen for a closer examination: Braganza (1775), the Law of Lombardy (1777) and the Count of Narbonne (1781). In the year which saw the triumph of Braganza, Vitellia, another tragedy was written and offered to Garrick, who however rejected it in 1776 „with as much judgement“, wrote Walpole (who had read the manuscript, — Letter to Mason, vol. VI, p. 423) „as he acted all the wretched pieces that appeared at Drury Lane for so many years. It has beautiful poetry as Braganza had, and more action, and more opportunities for good actors, if there were any“. For this reason Vitellia was left unperformed, till a new generation of actors had taken possession of the stage. Slightly modified the play was brought out by Kemble at Drury Lane on the 15th of Nov. 1796, under the new title of „Conspiracy“. It had a run of three nights only, though Kemble did his best in the part of Titus.⁷⁾ The source of Vitellia seems to have been the Clemenzia di Tito of Metastasio, of which an English version by Cleland had been printed in 1761.

The Hotel, or the Servant with two Masters, a farce in two acts, was performed at the theatre Royal, Smock Alley, Dublin, in 1784. It is apparently an improvement of Vaughan's Double Valet, or may have been

⁶⁾ Jephson records the splendid success in an anecdotic foot-note to Roman Portraits p. XXVI: „ . . . nothing in the memory of man“, said the printer to Mr. Courtenay, „ever sold like it, except Watson's Almanach.“

⁷⁾ Genest found it „absurd, especially in Titus' repeated offers of love to Vitellia.“

drawn like Vaughan's piece from a French or Italian original. I am inclined to think it was also influenced by Vanbrough's *Mistake*. — Jephson remodelled this farce in 1791 and gave it the new title of *Two Strings to your Bow*. The originality and freshness of the conception, the lively scenes and humourous situations made it keep the stage even longer than the *Count of Narbonne*. It is mentioned as „still very often plaid“ in 1815, and Genest records representations up to the end of his „Account“.

The Campaign, or Love in the East Indies, a comic opera, had been plaid with little success at Dublin, before it was brought out at Covent Garden in 1783; here, too, it was acted only three nights. Two years later however, it reappeared, cut down by O'Keefe to a musical entertainment, entitled *Love and War*. With *Julia, or the Italian Lover*, which was first acted and printed, in 1787 Jephson made a last attempt with tragedy. „The play is based on a real event, which had happened in the island of Guernsey, in 1726“. (Baker.) *Mentevole*, the Italian lover seems to have been almost the same character as *Bireno* in the *Law of Lombardy*, with which play *Julia* has many resemblances in the conception and in the plot.

Roman Portraits, a poem in heroic verse, on Roman heroes, with historic and literary notes and numerous illustrations, appeared in 1794. Prefixed to it are a portrait of the author and the dedication to Malone, of which I have quoted a passage. „Whatever deficiencies may be found in the execution of the following poem“, says the author, „some small merit may perhaps be allowed to the novelty of the design, to which I know nothing similar in our language, unless the ingenious and learned Mr. Hayley's History of historians in verse, may be considered in some sort as its precursor“. (Pref, p. III.) As his sources, Jephson mentions:

1. The Latin historians.
2. Middleton's Life of Cicero.
3. Four lectures by the learned Dr. Michael Kearny.
4. Dr. Backwell's Memoirs of the Court of Augustus.
5. Arthur Murphy's translations of Sallust and Tacitus, and his prefaces to them.

Very numerous are the allusions to contemporary events, especially to the French Revolution. He heartily detested „those rebellious subjects of the late most Christian King, who have crowded into the period of one short lustrum more impiety, oppression, cruelty, rapine and massacre, than can be found in the aggregated enormities of all the rest of Europe for a series of centuries“ (p. XII) — and later he sings:

„May the hot brand of inextinguished shame
Sear, ruthless Gauls, with infamy your name!
By no one virtue from despair redeemed,
Your sovereigns murder'd and your God blasphemed
. . . Oh for a hotter Aetna to roll down
His fiery deluge on the Stygian town!“ (p. 240.)

The enormities, crimes and horrors of the French Revolution form the subject of another work, in two volumes, which appeared in the same year as Roman Portraits.

Its spirit is betrayed by the title: *Confessions of Jean Baptiste Couteau*. According to Baker it was „a well timed, well meant and well executed satire“.

There is no complete edition of Jephson's works, as some of them have never been printed. — A presentation volume of his collected plays was sold at the Strawberry Hill Sale, and numerous manuscripts, especially letters have been collected by Mr. Gilbert. — Braganza, The Law of Lombardy, and the Count of Narbonne are included in Mrs. Inchbald's *Modern Theatre*; the same and the farce of *Two Strings to your Bow*, form the numbers 194, 277, 283, 144 of Dick's *Standard Plays*. The Count of Narbonne alone is reproduced in vol. 15 of Dibdin's *London Theatre*, and together with *Two Strings* in other stage-collections.

For references and quotations, I indicate the act and the number of the verse-line in it, and use the following abbreviations:

- Brag. = Braganza.
 - Vert. = Vertot: *Les Révolutions de Portugal*.
 - L. of L. = Law of Lombardy.
 - O. F. = *Orlando Furioso* (V 16, 4 = Canto Vth, stanza 16, line 4).
 - C. Otr. = Castle of Otranto.
 - C. Narb. = Count of Narbonne.
-

Braganza.

Introduction.

On the 18th of February 1775, Horace Walpole wrote to his friend, the poet Mason: „Braganza was acted last night with a prodigious success. The audience, the most impartial I ever saw, sat mute for two acts, and seemed determined to judge for themselves and not to be the dupes of the encomiums that had been so lavishly trumpeted. At the third act, they grew pleased and interested; at the fourth they were cooled and deadened by two unnecessary scenes, but at the catastrophe in the fifth, they were transported. They clapped, shouted, huzzaed, cried bravo, and thundered out applause both at the end, and when given out again; yet the action was not worthy of the poet. . . .

The charming beauties of the poetry were not yet discovered, and the faults in the conduct may be easily mended. In short, I trust if this tragedy does not inspire better writers, that it will at least preserve the town from hearing with patience the stuff we have had for these fifty years. . . .

The boxes are all taken for five-and-twenty nights, which are more than it can be acted this season. . . .“ (Walpole, Letters VI, p. 190.)

In a similar strain he wrote to the countess of Ossory (1st Febr. 1775): „ . . . I remember nothing at all equal to it appearing in my time, though I am a Methusalem in my memory of the stage. . . .“ (vol. VI, p. 190.)

The play treats the conspiracy for the liberation of Portugal from the Spanish yoke in 1640. It is drawn from the „Histoire des Révolutions de Portugal“, par l'Abbé René Aubert de Vertot, of which I have been able to read the French original, printed at Amsterdam, 1712, „aux dépens d'Etienne Roger, Marchand-Libraire, chez qui l'on trouve un assortiment general de toute sorte de musique“.

Whether Jephson used the French text or an English version is immaterial for our investigation, as he never so closely followed his originals as to imitate their style or to copy their expressions. Vertot's minute account is written with great facility, vigour, and „esprit“. The characters are well drawn and have, on the whole, been little changed by the dramatist. Pizarro and Ramirez alone are not historical figures. As some of the names have been slightly changed, I give first a list of the dramatic personae and their originals:

Jephson's Duke of Braganza	=	Dom Jüan de Bragance, in Vertot.
Velasquez	=	Miguel Vasconcellos
Almada	=	{ Dom Miguel d'Almeida + Antoine d'Almada
Ribiro	=	Pinto Ribeiro, intendant du Duc.
Mendoza	=	Mendoze, chef de la noblesse.
Mello	=	Mello, grand Veneur.
Roderic	=	Dom Rodrigo de Saa, Grand Chambellao.
Lemos	}	{ Lemos } chefs du peuple.
Corea		
Louisa, Duchess of Braganza	=	Louise, duchesse de Bragance.

The contents of Vertot's book can be resumed with his own words of the preface:

„On verra dans cet ouvrage un Prince du sang de nos Rois et de la dernière branche de la troisième race, signaler son courage contre les Maures, les chasser d'une partie du Portugal et jeter les fondemens d'une monarchie dont la postérité jouit encore (Henri, Comte de Bourgogne

issu de Robert, Roi de France, vers le commencement du douzième siècle). Le Roi Dom Sebastien, ne trouvant plus d'infidèles à combattre dans ses Etats, les va chercher jusqu'en Afrique, passe la mer avec une poignée de soldats et entreprend avec plus de zèle que de prudence de détrôner un souverain qui se trouvait à la tête de soixante mille hommes et qui le fit périr sous l'effort de ses armes. Sa couronne passe sur la tête de Dom Henri, son grand oncle, Prince âgé de soixante sept ans, Cardinal et Archevêque d'Evora et qui ne regna que seize mois. Sa mort fit éclater les prétentions de différens Princes qui se portèrent pour les héritiers. Philippe II, Roi d'Espagne, le plus puissant de tous, décide la question par la force, il s'empare du Portugal à titre d'héritier et le gouverne comme un usurpateur. Les Portugais gémissent pendant près de soixante ans sous une domination étrangère; ils l'en délivrent ensuite par une conspiration presque générale de tous les Ordres du Royaume; le Duc de Bragance est porté sur le trône et sans être ni Soldat ni Capitaine, il l'y maintient par l'habileté et les sages conseils de la Duchesse sa femme. Cette princesse fait paraître sa prudence et sa capacité dans le grand art de régner pendant une Régence tumultueuse, et encore plus agitée par les intrigues de Cour que par les armes de ses ennemis. Enfin, on verra paraître un fils peu reconnoissant, qui à la faveur de la Majorité l'éloigna du gouvernement, mais qui dans la suite perd lui-même ses Etats par l'habileté d'un frère qui le priva de sa liberté, et qui sur des raisons autorisées par des Loix et soutenues par la force lui enleva en même temps sa couronne et sa femme."

For his tragedy, Jephson chose the account of the rising conspiracy up to the victory of the revolution and the death of Vasconcellos (Velasquez) the tyrannic secretary of the Spanish vice-queen. For the sake of the classic unities, which he dared not yet neglect, events,

which in reality had happened within a space of time of at least 8 or 9 months, had to be crammed to the limit of 24 hours. Thus the interview of Ribiro and Mendoza with the Duke, which is described in the 1st and 2d scene of the II^d act, had in fact taken place in summer 1640, the first meeting of the conspirators at Almada's castle (III^d act, 2d scene) in October, the Duke's entry into Lisbon (II^d act, 1st scene), on the 20th of the same month, whilst on the night of the rising (6th Dec. 1640) Dom Jüan was away from the capital, at his castle of Villaviciosa, 30 leagues distant (Vert., p. 91) and could therefore have no part in the fight at the palace gates (Brag, Vth act, 2d scene). According to Jephson's indications we are to place the action of the drama as follows:

5th of Dec., before noon: first act; meeting of Ribiro with Corea and Lemos and with Almada; — Almada and Velasquez, — the trumpets announce the Duke's entry (I, 314).

at noon: Ribiro and Mendoza wait on the Duke at his palace (II^d act, 1st scene); — the great interview of the conspirators with the Duke and Duchess (II^d act, 2d scene).

late in the afternoon: Velasquez with Ramirez at the vice-queen's palace (III^d act, 1st scene).

in the evening: Velasquez's excursion to the fort; Mello's and Roderic's adventure.

before mid-night: the meeting at the castle of Almada (III^d act, 2d scene); Ribiro's reports to the Duke (IVth act, 1st scene).

After mid-night: Velasquez and Pizarro awaiting Ramirez's return (Vth act, 1st scene).

6th. of Dec. 5 o'clock a. m. attack of the conspirators on the palace of the vice-queen (Vth act, 2d scene).

The unity of place is less strictly observed, though it suffices to Corneille's law that the action should take place within the same town; Braganza interferes however with Johnson's advice, that the scene should not be shifted in the middle of an act.

If the unity of action, the most natural and important, consists in the rule that every scene should advance the action towards the catastrophe, it must be owned, that in Braganza it is the least observed. The author, over-anxious well to found every action and to give a most correct exposition of each character, neglected the care of vigorously pushing the action. The subject too, as Walpole justly remarks (Letters VI, p. 194) was not well adopted for five acts, as it really allows but two, corresponding to the two great events, the conspiracy and the revolution, which in our play form the II^d and Vth acts. Jephson filled up the rest by giving a lively picture of the miseries of Portugal in the Ist act, showing the preparations for the rising in the III^d and ringing a false alarm in the IVth act.

Contents of Braganza.

Act I, scene 1st. (a piazza in Lisbon). Two aged citizens are dragged in chains by Spanish soldiers. Ribiro is grieved at the sight and asks for the reasons of this new aggression. — Spain has seized their wealth, they dared to murmur; this is the crime, for which haughty Velasquez, king Philipp's minion and the scourge of Portugal has doomed them to perpetual bondage. The prisoners are led away. Corea and Lemos enter, two other citizens who have seen the new ignominy. Ribiro finds them prepared to be trusted with the secret of a formidable league, „sage heads, firm hearts and executing arms are forming,“ to shake off the tyranny. The Duke of Braganza, the rightful heir of Portugal's crown has not yet joined the plot, but may be won, Ribiro assures, if men like Lemos wish it. — Almada comes, a mighty spirit, whose reverend head no dishonour ever bowed and who to the last had reared high his country's standard against the oppressor (Exeunt Corea and Lemos). Ribiro tells Almada how Spain's arrogance every hour increases the numbers of the discon-

tent, whose furor, well directed, may be useful in the rising. As yet they know not that the hour of liberty is at hand: they still believe, the Duke, at noon, — „but visits Lisbon to command the march of our new levies to the Spanish bounds: Himself to follow strait“ (Brag. I, 143—46) Almada thinks they will not fail, but the good, careless Duke must be reminded:

„That his commission as high admiral,
His genral's staff, and all the lofty pomp
Of his high-sounding titles, were but meant
As gilded snares to invite him to his death.“

(Brag. I, 171—74).

The Duke is not a daring spirit, but on his wife, on bright Louisa rests the country's hope; her ardour raises the patriots from cold dejection to bold device. — A noise is heard; the train of Velasquez approaches, who with „saucy pageantry“ takes his daily round through the thinned streets of Lisbon. Ribiro retires. An officer bids Almada to give way; as he refuses, Velasquez reproaches his haughty obstinacy, and orders him to give the rabble a better example of obedience. Fain would Velasquez be Almada's friend, but whenever they meet, that haughty brow rebukes him with its frown. So does the whole province, but it . . . „first shall feel my weight, and since it scorns my love, through fear obey me“ (Brag. I, 274 bis 275). Pizarro reminds his lord, that already the power of Spain in this province is his; to the vice-queen, Margaret of Austria, the regent's empty title only is left. When Braganza will be away, none will hinder Velasquez from assuming the title, the authority of which he long has owned. Not even Olivarez, the minister in Madrid, dreams that the delegate, the creature of his breath,

„Anon will bid defiance to his power,

And rank himself with monarchs.“ (Brag. I, 292—94.)

and higher still are his aims: „the purple cement of a princess' blood“ shall strengthen the foundations of his fortune. Braganza must die before to-morrow (a flourish of trumpets announces the Duke's entry into Lisbon). — Never more, thinks Velasquez, shall sprightly notes or joyful shouts of friends greet Braganza's entrance, but mute sorrow and mournful dirges wait his cold relies to their sepulchre (I, 321).

Act II d, scene 1st (an antechamber in the Duke of Braganza's palace). Mendoza, a young courtier tells Ribiro with what enthusiasm the people welcomed the Duke's return to the capital. The whole way was „crowded thick with panting multitudes“. Anxiety

was to be read in the Duke's face, whilst „from Louisa's lucid eyes streamed the pure beams of soft benevolence“ (II, 31). Alighting at the castle-gate, the princely pair expressed their thanks „in silent dignity of gesture, far more eloquent than words“. If the prince has doubts, Ribiro thinks, „they flow not from selfish fear, but his wife, his friends, —

an infant family, a kingdom's fate
more than his own, besiege his soul“ (II, 52—55).

To Mendoza doubts are treason in a cause like this. — As by now, the multitudes will have dispersed, they go to meet the princes.

Scene 2d (a magnificent chamber in the Dukes' palace). The Duke thanks Lemos and Corea and the other citizens for the people's demonstration of loyalty and sympathy. Lemos in their name implores his help to raise from the dust, the prostrate genius of Portugal. He hesitates, feeling himself a subject too and bankrupt of power. But Louisa nobly espouses the cause of the people and promises her help to redress their wrongs. Corea thanks her; then the Duke dismisses the citizens, saying: „Rank me with your friends and know I have a heart for Portugal.“ But when they are away thoughtful clouds draw on Don Juan's brow. Louisa bids him to show courage to the people, who look, to him as their leader. As to his poor life, the Duke would gladly throw it away for his country, but far more than the wealth of nations is at stake — the safety of his most precious good. „This cruel fondness“, hurts Louisa, who rouses him with noble eloquence. Her prophetic eye sees her Juan celebrated as Portugal's redeemer. (Exit Duchess, enter Ribiro and Mendoza) — All things, they report, are favourable and conspire with the people's hereditary antipathy to Spain. The army too are won and wait for orders (Almada enters.) The old general is pleased with the new spirit of confidence and enterprise which fills the heart of his lawful sovereign whose tutor he had been in the use of arms. — The conspirators have decided to assemble during the night, and five o'clock from the tower of St. Lazar will be the signal for the beginning of the revolt. The Duchess comes to warn them, that the minister of Spain has come to see the Duke, and „to make a hollow tender of his service, with most obsequious falshood.“ She implores the help of God for the enterprise and prays the soldiers to show mercy in the execution of revenge; all promise to spare unoffending wretches, except Ribiro, who will not think of mercy till his sword have reached the breast of Velasquez.

Act III d, Scene 1st (The apartment of Velasquez at the palace of the vice-queen). Velasquez is disturbed; dull Braganza must have been tutored, for, every subtle artifice he opposed with ambiguous compliments and calm disdain. Pizarro thinks it needless to murder him, he will soon find his grave in Spain. Velasquez fears they might let him live, once drawn away from Portugal; therefore, even to-night he must die. His possessions then will become Louisa's dower. Her own ambition and Velasquez's passion and power will soon dispose her to accept his hand. An officer is sent for the monk Ramirez, who instantly appears. Velasquez intimates that he has some secret business for the ready and blind obedience of the friar, whose heart he sounds with ambiguous questions and prospects of great favour. Lisbon's envied crozier shall be his, if now he will do what he is bid: to mingle a poison in the substance of the sacrament which the Duke every night receives from Ramirez, his confessor. The friar shrinks in horror, but there is no receding; threatened with instant death, he consents. — When he is gone, Pizarro reenters and mocks at the „qualms of the holy tool“, who expects a rich reward, but will be dispatched too, his work once done.

Scene 2d (at Almada's castle). The conspirators assemble in arms around their general; enter Antonio, Ribiro, Lemos and Corea, but Mendoza, Roderic and Mello are still absent. Whilst Almada once more reminds them of the ignominy they must shake off, Mendoza arrives with the disastrous news that all are undone and betrayed by Roderic and Mello, who have been seen in the suit of Velasquez crossing the Tagus on the way to the fort. This unexpected bolt strikes the bravest with despair. Ribiro sees Spain her hangmen muster and „lick her fell jaw with a monster's thirst“ (III, 349). Almada suffers all the agonies of his unhappy country. Antonio thinks of flight. Lemos is sent to warn the people, Ribiro to bid the Duke to spare his nation's „last best hope, his valued life.“ The rest prepare to die nobly with Almada,

„As soldiers should do, red with well earn'd wounds,
And stretch'd on heaps of slaughter'd enemies.“

Act IV th, Scene 1st (a chamber in the Duke of Braganza's palace). The Duchess in prayer for victory and safety for her husband. Ribiro enters in haste and is impatient to see the Duke. She leads him to the apartment where he has retired with his confessor. Ramirez enters, coming from the Duke's chamber. He is glad at the interruption which may prevent the ghastly crime.

The Duchess, returning, dismisses him. When she feels herself unobserved, her grief bursts out in tears and despair, which she will never show in her husband's presence. The Duke joins her, that they might pass together the few moments fate may still allow them, for, Ribiro brought the ruinous news of the treason and is now returned to learn the decision of the officers. The Duke has lost all courage, but Louisa's unshaken fortitude gives him new strength. Deeper than ever, he feels what a treasure he owns in her. — Ribiro returns, wild with transport at a message of boundless joy. Mello and Roderic had been wrongly suspected; Velasquez is still ignorant of the wakeful vengeance. — The two conspirators on their way to Almada's castle had met the train of Velasquez, and, not to give cause for suspicion, they changed their direction, and unobserved pursued the tyrant, whom they could have killed, if the success of the rising had not required forbearance. They have seen Velasquez speak with the governor and then return in haste; no doubt he apprehends some imminence of danger. The Duchess retires in hopeful expectations whilst Ribiro and the Duke hasten to join the conspirators.

Scene 2d (at the Castle of Almada). New hope revives the conspirators. Almada gives his orders for the assault. Four bands will attack the palace at four different gates, and secure the Regent Margaret and the Spanish counsellors as hostages. Mendoza reports that word has been sent to every province; all are ready to rise; far India even will rejoice at the news of liberation. The Duke's appearance at this moment seems to the men a propitious omen. He is eager to fight and it needs Almada's weighty word to make him promise not to expose himself to danger. Ribiro returns from a last round. Lemos has been seized this very moment, and Pizarro, the ready tool of Velasquez's crimes, leads him to prison. The guards have been found sleeping round their fires, but the tyrant himself, at this late hour, walks about his chambers. — Corea is ordered, as soon as the work begins, through the streets to proclaim Don Juan king, and then to press towards the palace. To Ribiro general suffrage allows the master-work he has been longing for: to lead the stroke at Velasquez himself. One more short exhortation of the valiant old general, whom the thankful Duke embraces, and they break off to join their troops.

Act Vth, Scene 1st. In his apartment at the royal palace Velasquez is haunted by fears. Pizarro enters, who has vainly tried to question the captive Lemos. Velasquez has long considered him as one of the most dangerous, who with Almada and the rest brood

some mischief; to prevent it he had an interview with Don Garcia, who to-morrow will send the troops forth from the fort of St. Jago. He wonders why the monk has not yet returned; Pizarro thinks he but delays to behold the effect of the venom. A noise is heard; Velasquez thinks it Don Juan's knell, but it soon proves to be the clash of arms. A wounded officer rushes in. The raging multitude have forced the castle-gates; Don Juan is at their head. Mad rage seizes the tyrant at his name; then Ramirez has not killed him? — It is impossible to overcome the revolt. Pizarro advises him to fly by a postern gate, from where he might reach the palace of the Duke, whose mercy alone could save his life. A devilish thought crosses the tyrant's mind: — the Duchess alone — perhaps unguarded — „if I fall I'll leave a scorpion in the traitor's breast“ (exit). With armed conspirators Ribiro breaks in. He gives orders to leave no place unsearched, the villain must be found. Pizarro, who valiantly defends himself, is spared by the generous victor, though he refuses to betray his master's hiding place.

Scene 2d (at the Duke of Braganza's palace). The Duchess is in anguish for the safety of her lord, who, when news was brought that Almada was in danger, swift as a javelin rushed to the fight. Fear and hope in her breast rise and fall; like the shouts of war in the streets. Mendoza comes, a messenger from the Duke, who will soon return victorious, having lost but few men. Whilst the happy princess rejoices at this news, Ines, her attendant, announces a stranger, almost breathless, who implores her protection. She orders him to be brought in, but what is her surprise, when she beholds — Velasquez. Though he is not worthy of her grace, she will save him with her protection. She bids him to be hidden, till she should have prepared her lord to shield him from the nobles' rage. The Duke enters, but is struck with horror, when he sees Velasquez lay hand on his wife and draw a dagger, threatening to stab her, if one should dare to approach. Consternation seizes the Portuguese; whilst the haughty Spaniard mockingly bids the Duke to call off his soldiers, to submit again to Spain and to leave it to his power to intercede for the pardon of the rebels. But such ignominy the Duchess would not live to see, she is prepared for instant death. This fortitude blasts Velasquez's purpose and the ghastly apparition of the deadly wounded monk, who is carried in, for a moment diverts his savage cruelty. The Duchess rushes off to her husband's arms and the ready soldiers seize the monster. Ramirez, dying, relates his treason and how he was stabbed by Velasquez, near the gate behind the palace. Ribiro leads the

murderer off, to be laid in heaviest chains. Velasquez hails „the congenial darkness of the deepest dungeon“. Almada praises the Duke, who valourously fought against the stubborn German guards, rescuing Almada himself from great peril. Ribiro returns with the news that the tyrant is dead. The raging multitude have torn his body to bloody fragments.

Characters and sources of Braganza.

In the delineation of characters Jephson closely follows Vertot.

The duke, Don Juan of Braganza (Jephson uses the Spanish „Don“, Vertot the Portuguese „Dom“) is not a favourable figure to be made the national hero of a historical tragedy. He lacks all the more splendid qualities, which we are wont to find in the founders of dynasties. Vertot describes him as:

d'une humeur douce et agréable,
mais un peu paresseuse . . . , on ne
voyoit à Villaviciosa que fêtes que
gens propres à goûter tous les plai-
sirs d'une campagne délicieuse.

(Vertot, p. 29.)

Ses qualités n'étoient pas assez
brillantes pour faire craindre aux
Espagnoles qu'il vouloit un jour
entreprendre de se fair Roy.

(Vertot, p. 31.)

No wild ambition, like a pamper'd
steed

O' erleaps the boundaries of law and
reason.

(Brag. I 183—84.)

The temp'rate current of his blood
The gentlest passions brush . . .

(Brag. I 186—87.)

. . . no ambitious dream

Disturbs his tranquil slumber.

(Brag. III 50, 51.)

On household wing, he flutters round
the roof

That with the princely eagle might
have soar'd.

(Brag. III 53—54.)

Honours were conferred on him, to reward and secure
his loyalty:

. . . gouvernement du Milanais
(Vertot, p. 32.)

. . . l'emploi de general de toutes
les places du Portugal.

(Vertot, p. 35.)

. . . his commission as high ad-
miral.

. . . his general's staff and all the
lofty pomp of high-sounding titles.

(Brag. I 170—73.)

He used them to surround himself with officers attached to his person (Vertot, p. 36 — Brag. II 208—12). His generosity and the splendour of his train attracted the admiration of the people (Vert., p. 36, 46, 47 — Brag. II 8 ff.). Especially glorious was his entry into Lisbon:

toutes les avenues se trouverent
remplies d'un nombre infini de peuple,
qui l'empressoit pour le voir passer . .
Ce fut une fête publique dans toute
la ville; il sembloit qu'il ne man-
quoit ce jour là qu'un Héraut au
peuple pour le proclamer Roi . . .

(Vertot, p. 47.)

... the whole way
Was cover'd thick with panting multi-
tudes,

... the trees were bent with people.

(Brag. II 14—17.)

... With joy I heard them; heard
the vaulted sky echo: Braganza . . .

... the heartfelt cry of a whole
nation's welcome.

(Brag. II 8—9, 12.)

He hesitated a long time to give the conspirators a favourable answer (Vertot, p. 50 — Brag. I 91, 92). Fear and anxiety tormented him (Brag. II 25, 54); — but the Duchess encouraged him (Brag. II 102 ff.; Vertot, p. 59). — Jephson exaggerated his want of manly fortitude, by making him love his wife more than his country (Brag. IV 76—79). He shrinks from any enterprise that might endanger her precious life and sheds tears at the thought of separation (Brag. IV 120, II 152—54, 141) this makes him „but a whining Duke“ (Walpole, Letters VI). In Vertot's description he is less effeminate: . . . il avoit pour elle une confiance parfaite, il n'entreprenoit jamais rien sans la consulter . . .“ (Vertot, p. 53), . . . il ne pouvoit l'empêcher de lui avouer que la grandeur du peril l'épouvantoit . . . (Vertot, p. 53). — The historic Duke even urged the conspirators not to delay the execution of their plan (Vertot, p. 69). — He was a fervent Catholic (Brag. III 165 ff. — Vertot, p. 140), who in despair could look up

to heaven (Brag. IV 63—66, 150). — If Jephson lets him treat Velasquez with haughty disdain (Brag. III 14, 15), this is in contradiction with Vertot, who describes him as having always before the revolution treated the Spanish with submissive politeness (Vertot, p. 57, 58). Jephson makes him boast of his exploits as a soldier (Brag. II 146—52, IV 314) and take an active and most honourable part in the counsel of the conspirators (Brag. IV 311) and in the assault on the palace (Brag. V 369—70), whilst Vertot stated already in the preface, that he was „ni Soldat, ni Capitaine“.

Louisa, Duchess of Braganza, both the historian and the dramatist praise with the highest encomiums, for her beauty, intelligence and benevolence (Brag. II 26—36; Vertot, p. 51). Though born a Spanish princess, of the renowned family of Gusman, sister of the Duke of Medine-Sidonia, then governor of Andalousia (Vertot, p. 51), she proved a true mother to her adopted country (Brag. I 203—212).

... Il ne lui manquoit ni courage pour entreprendre les choses les plus difficiles, pourvu qu'elles lui parussent grandes et glorieuses, ni lumière pour trouver les moyens d'y parvenir. Ses manières étoient nobles, grandes, aisées et pleines d'une certaine douceur majestueuse, qui inspirait de l'amour et du respect, à tous ceux qui l'approchoient.

(Vertot, p. 52.)

... summon'd as we are, your
honour pledg'd,
Your own just rights engag'd your
country's fate,
Let threat'ning death assume his
direst form,
Let dangers multiply, still would I on,
Still urge, exhort, confirm thy constancy,
And though we perish in the bold
attempt,
With my last breath, I'd bless the
glorious cause,
And think it happiness to die so nobly.
(Brag. II 163—70.)
... Bright Louisa
To all the softness of her tender sex
Unites the noblest qualities of man;

A genius to embrace the amplest
scheme

.....

Judgment most sound, persuasive elo-
quence

To charm the froward and convince
the wise.

(Brag. I 194—99.)

More courageous and more ambitious than her husband, she at once embraces the cause of the conspirators (Vertot, p. 54 — Brag. II 80—91). It is she again, who makes the reluctant Duke accept the crown (Vertot, p. 61 — Brag. II 108—110, VI 51—54), reproaching his indolence and praising the merit of working for his country and his well founded right (Vertot, p. 61, 54 — Brag. II 176—85), though the perils of the lord fill her heart with anguish (Vertot, p. 52 — Brag. IV 85—88). Love and devotion prop her in affliction and have always help and comfort for her husband (Brag. IV 152—56; 92, 2—7). Honour is the great moving spring of her heart (Brag. V 129—30); death rather than ignominy (Brag. V 294—97). Her womanly virtue gives her pangs for the victims (Vertot, p. 116 — Brag. II 285—94) and even to the fallen foe she extends her pity (Brag. V 225). Walpole in his epilogue to Braganza (Walpole, Works, vol. IV, p. 400) resumes her character in the following lines:

... in Louisa's air,
Behold the example of a perfect fair;
Just, though aspiring merciful though brave,
Sincere, though politic, though fond, no slave.
In danger calm, and smiling in success,
But as securing ampler means to bless.

Ribiro (properly to be spelt Ribeiro) is in Vertot usually called with his Christian name: Pinto. He was the soul of the conspiracy.

... celui de tous qui travailloit le plus efficacement; l'était un homme actif et vigilant, conformé dans les affaires et qui avoit une passion violente pour l'elevation du Duc.

— Pinto travailloit depuis longtemps dans Lisbonne avec beaucoup d'application, à remarquer les mécontents et à en faire de nouveaux. (Vertot, p. 38.)

— S'il se trouvoit avec des Bourgeois et des Marchands ... il ne les entretenoit jamais que de la misère extrême où ils étoient réduits sous une domination si tyrannique, excitant ceux qui avoient été maltraités par les Espagnoles. (Vertot, p. 38.)

Avec ceux qu'il sçavoit être mécontents, il tournoit habilement le discours sur les qualitez de son maître. (Vertot, p. 39.)

Had we in all the people's mass
But twenty spirits match'd with you
in virtue,
How might we bid defiance to proud Spain.

(Brag. II (189—91.)

Duke: Good generous man;
... careless of his life
And anxious but for us.

(Brag. IV 69—71.)

Almada: ... What new proselytes?
Thy ardour every hour finds or
makes them.

(Brag. II 20, 21.)

Your gold perhaps might move you;
Spain will seize it;

Then bid you mourn the loss in the
next dungeon,

Or dig her mines for more ...

(Brag. I 53--55.)

to Lemos and Corea:

(Brag. I 91—92.)

He is not yet resolv'd, but may be
won,

Could I assure him men like you
but wished it ...

(Brag. I 91—92.)

His patriotic ardour demanded a prominent part in the execution of the schemes he had helped to contrive.

Il se mit à la tête de ceux qui devoient attaquer l'appartement de Vasconcellos.

(Vertot, p. 179.)

Almada: The general suffrage to
thy sword, Ribiro,

Commits our master-work.

(Brag. IV 353—54.)

Jephson intensified Ribiro's rage by letting him take an oath to kill Velasquez (Brag. II 322—26).

Almada represents the military genius of the conspirators. This character is a combination of two historic figures; of Dom Miguel d'Almeida and Antoine d'Almada. From the former, he has his character and

his part in the revolution, from the latter the speech to the Duke.

d'Almeida était un vénérable
vieillard qui avoit acquis une con-
fédération extraordinaire par son
mérite; il faisoit gloire d'aimer sa
patrie plus que sa fortune.

(Vertot, p. 40, 41.)

... ce fut aussi le premier sur
qui Pinto jeta les yeux pour se dé-
clarer un peu plus ouvertement.

(Vertot, p. 41.)

Lemos: is he a friend?

Ribiro: a firm one. No dishonour
E'er bow'd that reverend head.

That mighty spirit,
When first the oppressor, like a
flood o'erwhelmed us,
Rear'd high his country's standard
and defied him.

(Brag. I 109—13.)

To him as the most experienced officer was entrusted the most difficult and honourable part in the assault of the palace, the attack on the German guard (Vertot, p. 67), „qui prise au dépourvû fut bientôt defaite“ (Vertot, p. 78). The conspirators, whom Jephson assembles at Almada's castle, in reality met partly at the house of Almeida, partly at those of d'Almada and Mendoza (Vertot, p. 68). The historic d'Almada on the 6th of Dec. 1640 directed the attack on the palace of the vice-queen; Jephson gave this command to Mendoza (Vertot, p. 87 — Brag. IV 283). With d'Almeida he had been one of the first to confer with the Duke. The speech which he made on this occasion (Vertot, p. 48, 49) on the state of Spain and the necessity of acting at once, is reproduced in Braganza (II 239—46; III 297—308), together with passages from an address which the archbishop of Lisbon delivered at the first meeting of the conspirators (Vertot, p. 41—43; Brag. II 219—27; III 274—308). Jephson gave Almada a certain authority over the Duke, by making him his tutor and example in the use of arms (Brag. V 374, II 212).

Mendoza, in history, was the leader of the aristocracy, governor of a place near Villaviciosa (Vertot, p. 59). He was therefore with Ribiro best suited to be the messenger between the Duke and the conspirators (Vertot, p. 59;

Brag. II, scene 1st). Messages he carries in the III^d act, 2^d scene and in the Vth act, 2^d scene, whilst in the IVth act, 2^d scene it is he again, who, by letters, sends the signal of the rising to the provinces. He took part in the attack on the palace of the vice-queen (Vertot, p. 67; Brag. IV 283).

Lemos and Corea are the representatives of the citizens,

<p>... qui avoient beaucoup de crédit parmi le peuple, ayant passé par toutes les Charges de la ville et dis- posant d'un nombre considérable d'artisans qui étoient à leurs gages.</p>	<p>at least a thousand follow when they lead.</p>
<p>(Vertot, p. 63.)</p>	<p>(Brag. I 149.)</p>

They proved useful instruments in the hands of their leaders (Brag. 151—56). Ils s'engageoient à faire soulever la plus grande partie du peuple à telle heure qu'on voudroit (Vertot, p. 64). Long have they patiently suffered the „cureless evil of tyranny“ (Brag. I 42) and seen men of their condition doomed to perpetual prison, as they dared to murmur, when Spain found meet to seize their goods (Vertot, p. 42, 43; Brag. I 37, 38). Jephson lets even Lemos be arrested (Brag. IV 328—30), and makes the citizens bring their complaints to the feet of the Duke, better to illustrate the union of all the orders and the popularity of the Duke (Brag. II 67—101). Both in history and in the drama they are ordered to take part in the rising, by proclaiming through the streets, Don Juan king, and, pressing towards the gates of the palace, to help where it might be necessary (Vertot, p. 67, 68; Brag. IV 347—51).

Mello and Roderic's adventure, which brought consternation on the conspirators, is fully and almost literally taken from Vertot (p. 71, 72). In history however,

the Duke knew nothing of the incident, as he was too far away and as Pinto (Ribiro), who was charged to inform him, omitted doing so, till it had proved a false alarm (Vertot 72), like another one, which on the day before had happened to d'Almada and his brother (Vertot, p. 70, 71). — However terrible the anguish of the people concerned may have been, and however well it be reproduced, this „untoward event“ must on the stage always be felt as greatly disturbing the progress of the action towards the catastrophe, at the same time it destroys much of the sympathy the enterprise awakened in our minds, when we behold the men, we meant to be heroes, fall into despair at the mere thought of danger.

Velasquez was in reality a Portuguese, named Miguel Vasconcellos, qui fesoit la fonction de Secrétaire d'Etat auprès de la Vice-Reine (Marguerite de Savoie, Duchesse de Mantouë), mais qui était en effet Ministre absolu et indépendant. Il recevoit directement les ordres du Comte-Duc (Olivarez, de la Maison de Guzman, premier Ministre de Philippe IV), dont il étoit la créature, et auquel il étoit devenu agréable et nécessaire par l'habileté qu'il avoit de tirer incessamment des sommes considérables du Portugal et par un esprit d'intrigue, qui fesoit réussir les plus secrètes intentions (Vertot, p. 28) . . . impitoyable, inflexible et dur jusqu'à la cruauté, sans parens, sans amis, sans égards . . . insensible même aux plaisirs, et incapable d'être touché par les remords de la conscience (Vertot, p. 82). — Historical are also his tactics of dividing the nobility by honouring some of them with lavish favours of his friendship and exciting the jealousy of the rest (Vertot, p. 38; Brag. I 257—59). With all these excellent materials it was indeed not difficult to make a dramatic tyrant. Jephson added the habit of a daily walk through the city, and the encounter with Almada, by which we see at once Velasquez's haughty character and the limits

of his power, to which the upright and patriotic section of the Portuguese will never bow their necks (Brag. I 263—65). He was aware that some project was ripening below the smooth surface of public tranquillity (Vertot, p. 56) and feared the power of Braganza (Brag. III 43—48). His uneasiness is the greater as all endeavours for grasping the secret are unavailing — even the rack, added Jephson (Brag. V 10—21), who had to account for Velasquez's excursion to the fort of St. Jago, on the other side of the Tagus, there to transact with the commander, Don Garcia, about the occupation of Lisbon by Spanish troops (Brag. V 22—29). — With the vice-queen he quarrelled and had in fact deprived her of all but imaginary power (Vertot, p. 28; Brag. I 277—80). It is therefore not in contradiction with his character, when Jephson inoculates on it the ambition of making himself king one day, in the land, which already acknowledges only his authority (Brag. I 283—85, III 59, 66). His plan of executing this design, as well as the characters of the wicked adviser Pizarro and the „holy tool“ Ramirez, are the dramatist's creations and both very dramatic. Pizarro is a typical Spanish officer of his time; as cruel and remorseless, as his master, ready to every wickedness, despising the subject nation — and brave in fight. In this particular point, the defence of Velasquez, he had the example of some historical persons. Francisco Soarez d'Albergaria (Vertot, p. 79), Antoine Correa (Vertot, p. 80), Diego Garcez Pelleia (Vertot, p. 80) all, not only fought, but died in protecting Vasconcello's life. — Ramirez too, represents a whole class of his contemporary clergy, the instruments of the Inquisition and of Spanish absolutism. The same hand admonishes with equal dexterity the bread of life and the deadly chalice. According to Vertot, Vasconcellos was killed in the manner the conspirators had first decided:

„ . . . Une vieille fervante fit signe aux conjurez qu'il étoit caché dans une armoire ménagée dans l'épaisseur de la muraille, où il fut trouvé couvert de papiers. La frayeur où le jetta la vue d'une mort qu'il voyait présente de tous cotez, l'empêcha de dire un seul mot. Dom Rodrigo de Saa, Grand Chambellan, lui donna le premier coup de pistolet; ensuite, percé de plusieurs coups d'épée, les Conjurez le jettèrent par la fenêtre...“ Velasquez's flight to Don Juan's house and his menacing the Duchess, by which, for a moment, he fills every heart with terror, when we long think him a dead man, are Jephson's invention. Walpole called it „one of the finest ,coups de théâtre' he ever saw, as it makes the interest rise even after the revolution has succeeded“ (Thoughts on Tragedy, Walpole Works, vol. II, p. 312) — Genest found it „an old stage trick“ (Account, vol. V, p. 449), which might well be copied from Settle's „Distressed Innocence, or the Princess of Persia“, where in the last act Rugildas drags in Cleomira with a dagger in his hand. The effect on Hormidas, Cleomira's husband, who enters at this moment is precisely the same as that produced on the Duke in our tragedy. The scene ends however differently in Settle's play. Rugildas kills Cleomira; a struggle ensues between him and Hormidas, in which both are mortally wounded. — A most delicate and weak point is Velasquez's dropping the dagger at the sight of the dying monk (Brag. V 309—10), who returns as his accuser. This is however „the only artful way of getting it out of his hand“ (Walpole, Thoughts on Trag. Works, vol. II, p. 312).

Ines hardly deserves mention: she plays the part of the French „confidente“ or the stereotype „attendant“ of the classic English drama.

Baker (Biographia Dramatica, vol. II, p. 66 and 192) found that „the general plot of this tragedy too nearly resembles some parts of ,Venice preserved“.

The resemblance is however more apparent than real, and after having traced the foundation of Jephson's characters on Vertot's account, we can confidently refuse the suspicion that he should have copied any passages from *Otway*, though *Venice preserved* was too often plaid in the 18th century to have been ignored by a man of Jephson's stamp and education. — The parallel concerns especially the conspiracy. Ribiro in many points resembles Pierre. Belvidera's voice echoes in some speeches of Louisa's (*Ven. pres.*, act IVth, scene 1st, line 5—13 — *Brag.* III 76—78; *Ven. pres.*, p. 61, line 8 from above ff.; and p. 76, line 16—19 from above, — *Brag.* II 174, — *Ven. pres.*, p. 46, line 11 ff. — *Brag.* II 102 ff.). Almada corresponds to Renault, as the military leader of the conspiracy (*Ven. pres.*, III d., 2d scene, — *Brag.* IV, 2d scene), but in their characters they are very opposites, — as are indeed the motives of the conspirations; revenge for private wrongs, lust of crime and hope of spoil with the great number of the Venetians, hate of the ignominious tyranny of the national enemy, aspiration of liberty, the noblest, purest and most legitimate motives of a whole nation, on the Portuguese side. This is clearly reflected by the spirit with which they set to work:

Venice preserved :	Braganza ;
(p. 54) Renault: ... But above all I charge you, Shed blood enough, spare neither sex nor age, Name nor condition ...	Duchess (II 287 ff.): ... in the headlong rage of execution Think rather what your mercy may permit
(p. 55) Renault: Whithout the least remorse then let's resolve With fire and sword t'exterminate these tyrants; And when we shall behold those curst tribunals	Than what the crimes deserve who feel your justice. Nor let those weapons, justice con- secrates Be dy'd with drops, drawn from the bleeding breast

Stained by the tears and sufferings
of the innocent,
Burning with flames, rather from
heav'n than ours,
The raging, furious, un pitying soldier
Pulling his reeking dagger from the
bosoms
Of gasping wretches; death in ev'ry
quarter,
With all that sad disorder can pro-
duce,
To make a spectacle of horror, ...

Of reverend age or helpless innocence.
(II 298) Almada:
For Indus'wealth I would not stain
this sword
Sacred to honour, with the guiltless
blood
Of unoffending wretches ...
(II 308 ff) Mendoza:
Heav'n and my conscious soul bear
witness for me,
That not to satiate my private malice,
But for the general good I stand
engaged
In this great compact. T'were a
coward's vengeance,
To turn a sacrifice to massacre,
And practise, while I punish, cruelty.

Certain passages in Braganza already betray an intimate acquaintance of Jephson with the Gothic novel. From where, if not from the C. of Otr. could flow words like Brag. IV:

Ramirez: Methought, the statues of his ancestors,
As I passed by them, shook their marble heads.
His father's picture seem'd to frown in wrath,
And its eye pierce me ...
or: I 105—106 Ribiro: The image of our late Braganza
(In sullen discontent he seems to frown)

Appreciation of Braganza.

Nobody more intensely enjoyed and appreciated the „charming beauties“ of Braganza than did Horace Walpole, whose sincere and enthusiastic admiration was eloquently expressed in his „Thoughts on Tragedy“, and some other letters, written to Jephson and Mason, soon after the first production of the play (17th of Febr. 1775). „I did not expect“, he wrote to Jephson (Thoughts on Trag., vol. II, p. 305, 24th Febr. 1775) that a first production in a way in which I did not know you, would

prove the work of a masterpoet. Even on hearing the three first acts,¹⁾ I was struck, not only with the language, metaphors and similies, which are as new as noble and beautiful, but with the modulation of the numbers. Your ear, Sir, is as perfect as your images, and no poet we have, excells you in harmony.“ — I would not detract from this praise, as command of language was indeed the strongest of Jephson's poetical qualifications. The modern reader can still relish the almost lyrical beauty of some passages, like Mendoza's praise of Louisa, and his description of the Duke's entry into Lisbon (Brag. II 26—37; 14—22), or Corea's prophecy (Brag. II 64—74), or the Duke's answer to the citizens (Brag. II 70—91), or Almada's complaints on the distress of his country (Brag. III 274—92). There is a discretion and refinement of feeling imprinted on the characters (with the exception of Velasquez) which moderates every passion. There are no violent bursts of indignation, rage or despair. The meanest citizen speaks with words as refined as the Duke's own, a dignity little inferior to that of old and wise Almada, and a patriotic and manly ardour like Ribiro's or Mendoza's. The uniformly noble and highly poetic and figurative language, and the rather epic moderation of feeling, though they make the lecture pleasant, must be felt as a disadvantage on the stage and a defect in the characterisation.

Throughout the whole piece, there is not a thought of humour, not a word of irony. Here we cannot blame Jephson for a peculiarity, which was a rigorous law for the tragedians of the later 18th century. They were opposed to the thought of mixing genres, since even Southerne had miscarried with it in *Oroonoko*; „and they were right in doing so“, says Schlegel (*Ueber dramat.*

¹⁾ They were read by Mr. Tighe, Jephson's friend, at Mrs. Weesey's Academy, on the 28th of Jan. 1775 — (Walpole, *Letters*, vol. VI, p. 186).

Kunst und Lit., III. Teil, p. 332), „since they no longer understood the ironical value of humour“, which was believed to be in contradiction with the spirit of tragedy. Walpole, who had treated this question in a kind of controversy with Voltaire,²⁾ recommended to Jephson to touch the passions of the audience by the „pathetic familiar“, meaning by the latter „the study of Shakespeare's strokes of nature, which soberly used, are alone superior to poetry, and with your ear may easily be made harmonious“ (Thoughts on Trag., vol. II, p. 312). „Though Shakespeare's dramas must be given up (!) on account of the negligence of his construction, much can be learned from his exquisite knowledge of the passions and nature, from his simplicity too . . .“ (Thoughts on Trag., vol. II, p. 311). Walpole did not admire the choice of Braganza for a tragic subject, as the happy event of it was too well known and he recommended to leave the audience in suspense. „If there is any merit in my play (Mysterious Mother), I think it is in interrupting the spectator's fathoming the whole story till the last, and in making every scene tend to advance the catastrophe“ (Thoughts on Trag., vol. II, p. 312). Another fault hinted at by Walpole (Th. on Trag., vol. II, p. 312) is the „want of more short speeches, of a sort of serious repartee, which gives great spirit“. — This lack of quick dialogue is especially felt in the scenes about the meetings of the conspirators (III, 2d; IV, 2d; Vth act), which might have been coloured like popular or parliamentary assemblies; it cannot be greatly faultive in the scenes between the Duke and the Duchess (II, 2d; IV, 1st), where the action is rather a psychological one, reflecting the impressions produced on the minds of the

²⁾ Voltaire, in his edition of Corneille's works, had called Shakespeare's plays „an intolerable mixture of buffoonery and solemnity“. See on the subject (Walpole, Works vol. III), the Castle of Otranto, 2d preface, p. 9 and his correspondence with Voltaire.

chief actors by the grave events which involve their destinies. —

The repetition of the same motive in variation can be an effective means for intensifying a certain impression aimed at; it must however become ineffective if used too often, as is the anecdote of Mello and Roderic's adventure, which returns in four casts.³⁾

This „conduct“ is the less satisfactory, as the incident does not promote the action and ought therefore not be allowed more space than becomes to an anecdotic illustration, destined to produce animated situations. No wonder it „cooled down“ the audience in the first performance (Walpole, Letters; vol. IV, p. 194). Yet the effect of Braganza and its aesthetical value lie not in the exterior beauty of diction alone. The sound moral principles of the play, the patriotic enthusiasm of the men, the purity, benevolence and beauty of Louisa, the absolute sincerity of the poet, appealed with equal strength to the hearts of the public, whose love for liberty and national spirit were just nascent, who had learned to discern true nature from its false semblance in art, in customs and in man himself. Though Jephson had not yet dared to scorn the rules which had long begun to be felt as the most noisome impediment of a free and vigorous revival of the national drama, he had at least known to make highly tragic a subject not chosen among the fables of antiquity; he had dared to „strike a little out of the beaten road“ (Walpole Works, vol. I, Postscript to *Myst. Mother*, p. 129), without falling into the errors of Cumberland. — Much might be expected from a man, who had shown so eminent qualities in his first dramatic production.

³⁾ 1stly, by causing terror among the conspirators (III 2); 2dly, by
frightening the Duke and Duchess; }
3 dly, the error is explained; } (IV 1 st).

4 thly, the conspirators retake courage (IV 2 d).

The Law of Lombardy.

Introduction.

This play was first produced at Drury Lane on the 8th of Febr. 1779, though from a letter of Horace Walpole, about Jephson's *Vitellia* (Walpole, *Letters*, vol. VI, p. 458 — July 13th 1777) it would appear that it had been finished in 1777. This delay in the production is accounted for in the same letter: „the wretched state of acting“. The success was not equal to that of *Braganza*. Genest records ten performances in the first season and a repetition ten years later (*Account of the Engl. Stage*, vol. VI, p. 79); Baker (*Biogr. Dram.*, vol. II, p. 364, no. 47) and Wright (quoted by Cunningham, *Letters of Walpole*, vol. VI, p. 458) know of nine performances only.

Contents of the Law of Lombardy.

Act 1st, scene 1st. (in a chamber of the royal palace at Pavia). The Duke Bireno, speaking to Alinda asks whether she had now spoken to the princess Sophia about him. Alinda confesses to be so much in love with Bireno, that against her will she constantly carries his name on her tongue, though she undoes her own hopes, if the princess should listen to her talk and accept Bireno's band. He assures her that his heart will always be with her „unassuming sweet simplicity“, and for the princess he will spare „the dull legitimate languor of a husband“. Alinda's endeavours have not been successful with the princess, whose behaviour, blushes, and silent tears every minute betray, she must love another one. Bireno at once guesses that his rival must be Poladore, „the new meteor“, to whom fly all the eyes and sympathies. A match of Paladore and Sophia must be prevented by all means; Bireno must have her. In his present condition — his dukedom being in confiscation —, he is but a princely beggar; the

marriage would make him the Lord of Lombardy. He orders Alinda to try once more to turn Sophia's thoughts to him; — should it fail he would lay a finer snare (Exeunt). (Enter king, Sophia and Paladore). The king begs his daughter no more to expose herself to the dangers of the chase, where this morning she would have been killed by a wild boar, had not the well-spiced lance of Paladore saved her. Paladore praises fortune which, at that moment placed him near her. The Princess, more than for life preserved, thanks the chance which made him her preserver. The king then speaks of the war, with which Burgundy threatens, stung by the refusal of the princess's love. The king offers Paladore the command of his troops, though he be a stranger, and remarks that Burgundy's wooing had already come too late, as his daughter's hand was destined to a man of royal Lombardic blood, the presumptive heir of the crown, — the duke Bireno. At this name, the princess turns pale, and when the king has left them, she confesses to Paladore, that she could not love Bireno. To Paladore too, the king's word has caused great sorrow, as he hoped to win Sophia. She assures him that rather than to accept Bireno she would not be wedded at all. Bireno enters announcing the king's decision, that in order to remove the prize for which Burgundy makes war, he and Sophia should be married at once. She leaves the two rivals and goes to her father to bid him to save her from such a dire compulsion. — Paladore praises her beauty, kindness and unspotted soul. Bireno allows her to be „in fairseeming most preminent“, like all the ladies of Pavia who . . .

„ . . . make the most of nature's liberal gifts,

Put pleasure out to usury, and love

As ease, convenience, as the moment sways them.

(L. of L. I 318—20.)

Besides she loves one and only one, Bireno himself; therefore Paladore had better not push his audacity to a desperate purpose. Paladore incensed by this haughty arrogance declares that he will love her, and if there was no other motive but Bireno's forbidding. Bireno feigns not to be offended, but declares himself ready to prove his assertion of the princess's lightness and amorous blood. At midnight they will meet, amidst the pines in the garden below Sophia's chamber (Exit Paladore). In his soliloquy Bireno hints at a plan of perfidy which cannot fail to destroy his rival.

Act II, scene 1st: (a chamber). The princess complains that she was not born to indifference but must feel equally keen the pangs of fear as the bliss of hope; her horror at Bireno is as great as her

love for Paladore. The king finds her in tears and soon guesses the cause; though she has always been dearest to his heart, though he has always let her have her will, this time he hopes, her desires will lose themselves in his own, as he has promised Bireno to be his advocate. She reminds her father that once already she had refused Bireno and that her hopes would rest on death alone, if she must wed him. The king taxes her words as the „rhetoric of a maiden's fancy“ — and a reason more to marry her speedily, not to leave her unprotected if he die. She objects that the people's love would be her best protection; the king however foresees that their loyalty would not hold long, if she tried to oppose Bireno, who has already on his side a great number of the court; he leaves his daughter, saying that to-morrow the counsel of state will meet, to decide about the war, which the people call the princess's own.

Scene 2d (a garden). Rinaldo is in fear about his master Paladore, who behaves most strangely and speaks of some dire purpose. To be able to prevent it, Rinaldo hides in a bush. Paladore enters. At his heart gnaws sorrow, caused by the suspicions, thrown into it by Bireno's words; — and there, behind the windows, perhaps his idol dreams in innocence. Bireno's arrival rouses him from these musings. Before going to prove Sophia's guilt he reminds Paladore of the law of Lombardy, that subjects to mortal penalty women, convicted of incontinence.

Then Paladore must swear upon a crucifix, by the holiest oath of knighthood, never to reveal anything of what he may see here; nor openly to show his enmity to Bireno, and instantly to leave the country if the truth of the accusation be proved. The oaths taken, Bireno first produces a letter, written in the princess's hand, and two pictures, one Sophia's own and the other one Paladore's, — the present he gave her. Paladore remains confounded, but is not convinced, as she may have sent them on the king's command. At a signal, given with a small light, Sophia opens her windows. Bireno hastens towards her; she „lets down the cordage of her shame“, and points to her chamber. — Mad with rage and shame, his best hopes bankrupt, Paladore is going to fall on his sword. Rinaldo rushes forth and saves him, against the wretched knight's will, whose mind almost gives way. Cursing these lecherous women, he runs away.

Act III, scene 1st (a Hall). Bireno has decided upon the death of the princess. His ambition, wounded by the new refusal of his suit, has extinguished all remorse. He welcomes Ascanio, a most notorious villain, for whose subtle genius he has much work;

— and meet reward. In the counsel of state to be held, Ascanio is to place himself near Bireno and to be ready to attest with his oath any assertion Bireno should find meet to make. They retire for further conference. Lucio enters, with an officer. The smooth knave Ascanio in Bireno's company forbodes to them some villany, and so does the behaviour of Bireno, who of late „grows past his custom courteous“, shakes hands with the officers and gives praise and largess to the soldiery; — but for future subjects, the officer thinks, it will be the wisest thing to keep quiet. The hall is filled with counsellors, knights, attendants; at his entrance they greet the king with cheers, but, as he observes, not with the wanted heartiness. Should they lack courage promptly to meet the invader? — The princess enters, whose beauty and gracious smile do more than all the words of the king to rouse the assembly. Bireno, followed by Ascanio, is greeted by the king with especial cordiality and asked not to despair of his final success with the princess's love. Bireno dryly remarks that „women's appetites will be their own purveyors“. The king asks for Paladore, whose skill in war and wisdom in counsel are most needed. Anguish fills Sophia's heart, when Bireno says the knight be not likely to attend. The assembly take their places. Bireno first addresses them, not to excite them to the war, but to speak on the danger from within „the wounded vitals of national honour“. The king fearing some treason bids him go on. Bireno asks for the text of the vigorous ordinance against incontinence of women. A senator reads it and the passage on the formalities to be observed by justice:

„ . . . the accused being cited

In the king's presence, he who brings the charge,
Should state each circumstance; that done, the herald
Thrice in six hours . . . must invite all knights
To appear her champions in the marshal'd lists:
There, if the accuser falls, she is held free, if he conquers,
The event confirms her guilt, and the sharp axe
Severs the wanton's life. (L. of L. III 190—201.)

All listen with anxiety, when Bireno bids to sound the trumpets, as he has an accusation. Walking in the garden last night, he says, he saw the princess „in a lusty rivals arm“; he calls upon Ascanio as a witness. The villain feigns confusion and on his knees he begs Bireno to stop. Horror seizes all round. The princess is choked with scorn and indignation. The king sees his pride, his joy, blasted in the spring of beauty; thus thanks him his intended son-in-law.

Bireno protests that no malice, nor ambition loosed his tongue, but his sense of honour, as he would not see the royal blood degraded by spurious progeny, children of lust; sons of an alien Briton must not reign, in Lombardy. The king sends for Paladore, but Bireno thinks his fear will carry him a long way before the persecutors. The princess thinks, Bireno must have murdered him already. Distressed, abandoned, and betrayed, it is her greatest sorrow to see the man she loves traduced and wronged. The warmth and modesty with which she confesses really to love Paladore, convince the king and the people of her innocence, but the law must be obeyed; Bireno bids to prepare the lists and to give the first signal, mocking at the passionate protests of the princess and the curses of the king. Left alone with her, the king clasps his daughter to his heart and drenches her bosom with sorrows; these tears cause her more cruel sufferings than all the horrors of the doom that waits on her. Lucio comes, ordered by the counsel, to arrest the princess and to lead her to prison. She bids her father to take courage and to hide his tears: innocent as a martyr, she will not die less bravely.

Act IVth, Scene 1st: (a forest). Paladore followed by Rinaldo. Like a slave of his senses, Paladore must still fondly think of the lady, who has so basely betrayed him. He sees her still, a picture of virtue and beauty, as if perjury and adultery had never spotted her. Rinaldo would like to know the reason of his master's sadness. Paladore at last confesses, that a woman had betrayed him, one, on whom he could take most cruel vengeance by delivering her to the law; but as she would only scorn such reparation, he will leave her to late remorse. — He sends Rinaldo back to Pavia, to dismiss his attendants and to bring his arms, whilst in a lonely hamlet near by he himself will think of how to repay the king's hospitality (exit.) — Two foresters enter, hirelings of Bireno, who has ordered them so kill Alinda. She believes them to be her guides and follows at a distance, gathering flowers, unconscious of her fate, like a lamb that plays in the butcher's eye. She asks to be led to her equipage, but the murderers bid her to prepare for a long and dreary journey. She cannot believe that Bireno should have her killed, she who had never done but what her love commanded her. The murderers show her an autograph of Bireno's, — her doom. They bind and stab her, then they run away. At the cries of the victim, Paladore rushes up, too late to save her in this houseless solitude. When she recognizes Paladore, she begs his pardon for the wrong she has done to him and to the princess, for she had lain in Bireno's arms, last night, she had for the deceit been clothed in Sophia's

dress, she had given him the pictures and the letter, which the princess had destined for Paladore. — She dies. — Paladore pities her guilt and errors and curses the abject villain who heaps murder on murder, then he calls a shepherd to bury the corpse. The man must be well paid, as he would rather go to the town with all the others, to behold a most strange sight. — Paladore has run away a long time, when Rinaldo returns, in despair, as he could not find him at the hamlet; if a moment is lost, the princess must die. He rejoices, when the shepherd tells him, that the knight had taken the nearest way to the city. —

Act Vth, scene 1st. (a hall). Lucio, speaking to an officer, declares himself ready to attempt the rescue of the princess, to whose benevolence he owns more than the poor life, he might lose. Circumstances are prosperous; the prison guards and the people would conceal the plan. Sophia bears her doom with noble fortitude, but the poor old king rages in despair (exeunt). — Bireno enters. He has learned of Paladore's return and has placed two ruffians in ambush to cut him off. Ascanio reports that still no champion of the princess has presented himself, and that the people begin to believe her guilty. Bireno foresees that her death will give the king too, his rest; but one fear still, disturbs him: if Paladore should escape. He bids Ascanio prepare the arms; all must be ready, though none perhaps will come to fight. Bernardine, the trusty spy, sends word of Lucio's attempt which he has just discovered; Bireno sends Ascanio instantly to invest the prison.

Scene 2d, (in the prison). The princess takes leave from her attendants, bidding them to be comforted and to take care of her poor remains after the execution. She draws a picture from her bosom and kisses it; it is Paladore's. She prays for him. The king, who meant to bring her consolation is but a broken man, the last string that makes him cling to life, will soon be cut. Sophia in her innocence has no cause to tremble; her attendants' tears of sympathy fill her heart with bliss. — An up-roar is heard without; the guards give way; people burst in to free the fair victim; gallant Lucio is their leader. He throws himself at her feet and bids her to accept at once the liberty he offers, in part to pay his boundless gratitude. Sophia refuses this present of her life, as it would not save her honour, which is more than life to her. She bids Lucio rather to assist her father. In vain are all the prayers of her friends, she is not to be moved, and already it is too late. Ascanio is heard without. The prison is beset with soldiers. Lucio throws down his sword, as his service is disdained. Soldiers seize him and carry off the princess,

as the herald has issued the final proclamation. Bireno enters and embraces Ascanio, who has saved him at a most perilous moment; in a few minutes, he thinks, fate will strive in vain to shake his designs.

Scene 3d, a scaffold, — guards, executioner in attendance, officers, senators, etc. as spectators. The Princess, supported by her women. Bireno in arms, Ascanio carries his shield; heralds with trumpets. For the 3d and last time the challenge is sounded. The princess thanks the people for their sympathies and the generous attempt to save her, though she must prefer death. Standing on the verge of eternity she once more protests to be free from the offence vile malice casts on her. All the people are touched to their hearts. A senator bids her to remember that the doom was spoken with a bleeding heart, and that the cruel law was not the work of her judges. She acknowledges that all the formalities have been duly observed; may her death convince the people that they must wipe out this more than cruel edict, for:

She who profanes her honour's sanctity
Upbraided by her heart, by her own sex
Shun'd or neglected, nay, held cheap and vile,
Even to the loathing of the lover's sense,
Who wrought her easy nature to transgress;
These are sharp penalties; — but added death,
Turns the clear stream of justice into blood,
And makes such law more curs'd than anarchy.

(L. of L. V 305—12.)

She prepares to mount the scaffold, when a trumpet is sounded and an esquire announces the arrival of a knight, ready with arms to prove Sophia's innocence and Bireno's villany. Ascanio takes the gage of Bireno, whom confusion seizes, when Paladore enters the lists in shining armour. The people greet him with approving murmurs; unspeakable joy and hope revive the princess. Paladore stepping forward asks her pardon for having left her, deceived by the devilish artifice of a rogue, whose baseness must be divulged before he gets his punishment. One of Alinda's murderers is lead in, who with other assassins assailed Paladore at the gate. — The bloody paper, Alinda's doom, speaks as another witness. Bireno, incited by Ascanio throws the defiance back. They fight. — Bireno falls. The enraged people tear his body to pieces. The king is sent for. — Her eyes filled with tears, her heart with rapture, Sophia thanks her hero, who in the full tide of bliss is more confused than ever he was in misery.

The king enters, accompanied by Lucio and attendants. Sophia flies to his arms. His overflowing heart finds not words of thank enough for Paladore, whom he invests with the forfeited lands of Bireno, and whose virtue and noble courage have well deserved Sophia's love.

Characters and sources of the Law of Lombardy.

„The main circumstances of the plot of this play“ says Genest (Some account . . ., vol. VI, p. 81), „have so strong a resemblance to *Much ado about Nothing*, that Jephson seems to have borrowed them from Shakespeare. But a gentleman, who has read Ariosto, says that Jephson has taken his plot from that author and translated the argument, which Alinda makes use of, when she pleads for her life.“ — Baker too (Biogr. dram., vol. II, p. 364, note 47) notes the „strong resemblance with *Much ado about Nothing*“. At a closer examination, it soon becomes evident that Genest's gentleman reader of Ariosto was right. There are only few passages which have a parallel in *Much ado*, and very many which cannot come from another source but directly from the story of Ariodante and Ginevra in the *Orlando Furioso* (Canto IV 57 — Canto VI 16); even the arguments common to both sources, resemble more Ariosto's version than Shakespeare's. — Whether Jephson read Ariosto in the original or in an English translation, I cannot decide with certainty; I believe however, that he knew Italian, as well as Spanish, French and Latin; proofs are the frequent quotations in these languages, among the foot-notes to *Roman Portraits*. There, Tasso and Ariosto occur most frequently.

The Law of Lombardy, as stated by the senator (L. of L. III 154—170) and quoted by Bireno (L. of L. II 206—13) is identical with the *legge di Scozia* (O. F. IV 59, 1—4).

... a law peculiar to this realm,
That subjects to a mortal penalty
All women nobly born, ... who to
the shame
Of chastity, o'erleap its thorny bounds,
To wanton in the flow'ry path of
pleasure.

(L. of L. II 205—11.)

L'aspra legge di Scozia empia e
severa
Vuol, ch'ogni donna, e di ciascuna
sorte,
Ch'ad uom' si giunga, e non gli sia
moglieria
Se accusata ne viene, abbia la morte.

(O. F. IV 59, 1—4.)

The punishment differs a little. L. of L. ordains execution (L. of L. V, scene 3d): the legge di Scozia dooms the offender to be burned (O. F. IV 58, 6). The time within which a champion must present himself is a month in Scozia (O. F. IV 61, 1), but Jephson, for the sake of the unity of time, found it expedient to reduce the limit to three times six hours (L. of L. III 193). The accused is free if her champion wins; she dies if the accuser slays him (O. F. IV 61, 2, — L. of L. III 198—201). As in the present case, the king's daughter is involved, the champion must be of noble blood (O. F. IV 60, 6; L. of L. V 325—28). In both countries the unjust rigour of the Law is cursed (L. of L. V 300—315; O. F. IV 63, 5—8; 65, 5—8; 66, 1—8; 67, 1—8).

The character of the duke Bireno is founded on that of Polinesso, duca d'Albania. Literally adapted are the following points:

1. The duke's intrigue with the chambermaid of the princess.

2. The motives of his jealousy at Paladore (Ariodante) (O. F. V 17, 3—8; L. of L. I 65—72).

3. The reasoning to win Alinda's help (O. F. V 14, 4—8; L. of L. I 101 ff.).

4. The advice given to her (L. of L. I 123; O. F. V 14, 1—3).

5. The promises of reward and love (L. of L. I 23—25; O. F. V 14, 5).

6. The confession that his ambition aspires to the crown, not to the princess (L. of L. I 17—20; O. F. V 14).

7. His design of putting ignominy on the princess and discord between her and her lover (O. F. V 22; L. of L. I 133—35, I 404—10).

8. His former friendship with Paladore (O. F. V 27, 3; L. of L. I 388—89).

9. The engagement to prove her preference (O. F. V 28; 32, 1—6; 37, 5—7; L. of L. I 394—401).

10. His part in the garden scene (O. F. V 42 ff.; L. of L. IId, 2d scene).

11. His consternation at Paladore's appearance in the lists (O. F. V 85, 4—5; L. of L. V 336—38).

12. His obstinate negation (O. F. V 86, 5; L. of L. V 381—82).

13. His dying almost without resistance (O. F. V 88; L. of L. V 384—85).

14. The perfidious attempt on Alinda's life.

Jephson added:

1. Bierno's being spoiled in a thriftless youth and the confiscation of his dukedom (L. of L. I 108—11).

2. His visit to the princess (L. of L. I 262 ff.).

3. His being related to the king, making him the heir presumptive of the crown (L. of L. I 214—15). Thus he is assured of the special favour of the king, who should like to see him his son-in-law (L. of L. III 115—18). In his character of Prince Royal the accusation weighs the heavier with the assembly and makes many of the future subjects his ready instruments (L. of L. III 86—87).

If Polinesso could at best hope to destroy the princess, Bireno sees a more substantial advantage: the kingdom must fall to him, all the direct issue of the king being dead. By making Bireno the accuser of the princess, Jephson was able to keep this chief character on the scene also in the IIIId act and to make him the centre

of the action and the tragic hero, sufficing thus to one fundamental axiom of dramatic art: that the chief figures must never be lost sight of and be especially prominent at the great turning points of the action. The accusation is the action by which Bireno hopes to attain his end, but he is lost by the wicked means. — By more closely following Ariosto, Jephson would have had to make his Rinaldo (Ariosto's Lurcanio, the accuser of Ginevra) a more important character and to develop his motives of vengeance for a wronged brother, by accusing the princess (O. F. V 61, 62). Not only has the dramatist been able by the new combination to avoid some scenes which must have become languishing, but he obtained an enormous concentration of interest and action for the central scene and found means to intensify the psychological delineation of the character of Bireno, whose boundless perfidy makes us expect an extraordinary catastrophe. The character of Bireno is well sustained in the fourth act, where Polinesso is again its original, it is even vigorously developed in the fifth, by the attempt on Paladore's life and Ascanio's triumph over Lucio, until the catastrophe, where the Duke becomes a very desperado. None of Jephson's other characters surpasses Bireno in dramatic vigour. His very villany, which never relents, never fickle or knows of scruples, captivates our interest. Though a wicked one, he is in any case a strong hero, more powerfully drawn than his two brother-characters, Velasquez in Braganza, who is far less active, and Raymund in the Count of Narbonne, who always shrinks from drawing the last consequence of his fell intents.

Paladore is, like Bireno, a combination of two Ariostan characters. Whilst in the Ist and IId acts he is identical with Ariodante, in the IVth and Vth he receives stronger colours from the character of Rinaldo (Ariosto's!). From Ariodante, he inherited:

1. His descent from a foreign country¹⁾ (L. of L. III 295; O. F. V 16, 78).

2. His bravery and skill in arms (L. of L. I 66—72; O. F. V 17, 3—4).

3. The esteem of the king and the people (L. of L. I 69—70, 206—10; O. F. V 17, 5—8).

4. The love of the princess (L. of L. I 55—63; O. F. V 20, 5—8).

5. His indignation and grievous doubts at Bireno's calumnies about the princess (L. of L. II 165—184; O. F. V 41).

6. His despair in the garden scene, when he sees Bireno's proofs (L. of L. II 298—324; O. F. V 51, 7—8).

7. His rescue from attempted suicide (L. of L. II 321—37; O. F. V 52, 2; 53, 4).

8. His flight (L. of L. IVth act; O. F. 56, 1—6).

9. His life in the forest (L. of L. act IVth; O. F. VI 4—9).

10. The investment with the dukedom, after the death of his adversary, and the marriage with the rescued princess (L. of L. V 405—9; O. F. VI 15, 4—8).

Ariosto's Rinaldo contributed to Paladore the following passages:

1. His meeting with Alinda (Dalinda), whom he frees from the hands of murderers (L. of L. V 202 ff.; O. F. 69, 7—716).

2. His hastening to town, when he learns the distress of the princess (L. of L. 329; O. H. V 76). — In Ariosto, both, Ariodante and Rinaldo, go to fight; the former against Lurcanio, his brother, the latter against Polinesso.

Jephson himself added to these materials Paladore's qualities as a statesman and general (L. of L. 208—10; III 123—28). He also lets him frequently make philo-

¹⁾ Ariodante is an Italian (O. F. V. 17, 1—2), Paladore a Briton (L. of L. I. 206).

sophical reflexions, or general remarks on women, love, etc., which are expressed with feelings becoming rather to a refined gentleman of the 18th century than to a barbarian chieftain (L. of L. IV 70—78, II 343—50). From the combination of the characters of Ariodante and Rinaldo, it follows naturally that Paladore learns at once from Alinda's mouth the distress of the unjustly accused princess, as well as both Bireno's perfidy towards Alinda and the treachery practised on Paladore himself. The motives of Ariodante's return with the intention to kill his brother and himself, are plausible enough in the medieval romance, but had to be discarded from the play as very feeble and not lifelike.

The character of the princess (Sophia, Ginevra) has been little modified, but the drawing intensified. Sophia is like Ginevra in:

1. her beauty (L. of L. I 35—37, 282—83, 295—97, 301—12, 369; O. F. IV 60, 1, V 12, 2; 75, 4);

2. her love for Paladore (L. of L. I 76—84, 94—98, 160—61, II 13—14, V 115—120, 392—95; O. F. V 18, 19, 7);

3. her dislike of Bireno (L. of L. I 241—49, III 278 ff.; O. F. V 19; 29, 8) and

4. the imprisonment (L. of L. III 387 ff., V, 2d scene). Jephson gave her some new excellences, as:

1. love for the people and for her father (L. of L. V 266, II 49—51, 110—114, III 376—86, V 32—34);

2. kindness towards her attendants (L. of L. V 112 ff.) and

3. a sense of honour which surpasses every other passion (L. of L. V 213—17, 225—33) and makes her anxious to die a martyr (L. of L. III 393—99, V 270).

The king, who is but mentioned in Ariosto as „il re dolente per Ginevra bella“ (O. F. IV 60, 1) and as

offering and giving her away, is very faintly coloured in Jephson too. He is an old man and decayed in strength (L. of L. II 99—101), though not in selfwill (L. of L. II 41—57). He has thrown away almost all his monarchical bearings and appears chiefly as the unfortunate father, who suffers more from his child's distress than she herself (L. of L. V 133 ff.). With a passion little inferior to the love for his daughter, he favours Bireno, whom he would like to see his son-in-law, in spite of the duke's dissipated youth, and not heeding Sophia's aversion (L. of L. III 114—18). After the accusation however, his hate of Bireno is violent in proportion to the former zeal for his success (L. of L. III 265—70, 362—65).

Alinda is even to the name copied from Ariosto's Dalinda in the following elements:

1. Her „unassuming sweet simplicity“ and her blind passion in the fraudulent love with the duke (L. of L. I, scene 1st and IVth, 281—82; O. F. V 10, 11).

2. Her pleading his suit to the princess (L. of L. I 42—46; O. F. V 15—16).

3. Her part in the fraud by dressing in Sophia's apparel for the garden scene (L. of L. IV 260—74; O. F. V 26, 5—6).

4. Her being deceived by Bireno and delivered to two ruffians (L. of L. IV 108 ff.; O. F. V 74).

The motives of her being removed from the court are different:

To bear secretly „the swelling witness of her shame“ in L. of L. (IV 291); to wait, „finchè l'ira e l'fuor del re decline“ in O. F. (V 73—76). — There is a freshness and natural charm about her, which makes Alinda one of the prettiest of Jephson's female characters. Whilst in Ariosto Rinaldo arrives in time to save her from out of the hands of the ruffians (O. F. IV 70—71), Jephson lets her die to atone for her incontinence. To let her alive, even if

doomed to monastic chastisement (O. F. VI 16) would have been in contradiction with the spirit of tragedy, which cannot leave a guilt unpunished, especially not in a play, the chief argument of which is a decree, comprising in its „gloomy gripe“, even persons in ordinary life placed above the laws.

Rinaldo, Paladore's attendant appears but four times on the scene. His monologue in the garden-scene prepares us for the gloomy mood of Paladore (L. of L. II 154 ff.), whom he saves from suicide (L. of L. II 30 ff.). In the fourth act he must again listen to his master's complaints (L. of L. IV 1—78) and then go on an errand, which is very little plausible (L. of L. IV 55—59) and would almost betray the dramatist at a loss as to how to get him off the scene, not quite without a motive. Rinaldo's return at the end of the fourth act gives it a more hopeful conclusion, though it is quite an unnecessary addition, as from Paladore's words (L. of L. IV 339) it becomes evident, that he intends to return. Part of this character, the intervention in the garden-scene, is taken from Lurcanio's character (O. F. V 52, 5; 54, 5), the rest is Jephson's addition.

In Ariosto, there is no original of Ascanio, who is wholly Jephson's own creation, though in this play no longer a new character, as we have seen his very likeness in Pizarro (Brag.); the colouring only is slightly darkened. The unfathomable baseness and reckless intervention of the villain repeatedly carries the interest and excitement to the pitch (L. of L. III 223—60; V 266 ff., 379—80).

Lucio is almost a personification of the people's love for the princess. His gratitude is the reflect of her benevolence. In the attempt of setting her free, he appears the representative of the crowd without (L. of L. V 204 ff.). His generous courage and his disappointment, when the

princess refuses the liberty he offers, (L. of L. V 246—48) make him a sympathetic figure.

— The scene of the shepherd's complaint (L. of L. IV 318 ff.) clearly is a reminiscence from Shakespeare, corresponding to the complaint on the death of Hero and breathing the forest-air of „As you like it“ and slightly reminding one of the grave-digger's scene in „Hamlet“.

The intervention of the Senator in the two great scenes (III^d act, 2^d scene, Vth act, 2^d scene) contributes to increase their pomp and pageant-like character.

The Foresters correspond to the two „mascalzoni“ of Orlando Furioso (L. of L. IVth act; O. F. IV 69—71). Jephson lets them be employed a second time, as an ambush for Paladore (L. of L. V 53, 367—70) and has one carried in, in the last scene, as a witness of Bireno's crime.

If we compare this piece with *Much ado about nothing*, we find a strong resemblance between the garden-scene, of L. of L. (II, 2^d scene) and Don John's and Borachio's plot against the honour of Hero, whereof Borachio reports in *Much ado*, III^d act, 3 scene (second half). Some points in the accusation-scene of L. of L. (III^d act) make one think of the 1st scene in the IVth act of *Much ado*, though it is impossible to quote a single passage, which might have been borrowed from Shakespeare. Of the characters „sweet Hero“ only has been present to our author's mind in the drawing of Sophia, who is however made of „a sterner stuff“. She swoons not at the accusation, here far more dreadful, but answers it with cursing and contempting the villainous accuser (L. of L. III 242—45, 252—59). — From *Leonato* may be derived the king's fatherly love and care. — If we were really to accept Shakespeare as the source of the L. of L. we ought not to forget, that it resembles not less strongly to *Measure for Measure*, with which play it has in common one of the fundamental points

of the plot, the law against incontinence, but with the fundamental difference that it is applied to women offenders, whilst in Shakespeare men only are punished.

To trace the resemblances of the L. of L. with other works, treating the same story, would be quite useless, as Jephson has not in the least been influenced by them. With Spenser, who treats the subject in the story of Phaon and Claribel, Philemon and Pryene (*Faerie Queene*, Book IId, Canto IV th, stanzas 18—31) we may suppose our author well acquainted; perhaps he even knew Davenant's Law against Lovers, though this is not very likely, as little as a knowledge of Bandello's novel of Timbreo di Cardona's and Felicia Lionata's adventure, or Belleforest's version of it, or Ayres's *Phaecinia* (see on the subject: Holleck-Weithmann: *Z. Quellenfrage von Shakespeare's Lustsp. Much ado about Nothing*, Diss. Kiel 1902, and Illies: *Verhältnis von Davenant's Law against Lovers to Much ado and Measure for Measure*, Diss. Halle 1900).

Therefore in resuming the parts we find the following scheme:

L of L.	borrowed from Orlando Furioso.	resembles in Much ado.
King of Lombardy.	re di Scozia.	as a father: Leonato.
The Duke Bireno.	{ Polinesso, duca d'Abania, part of Lurcanio (accusation).	{ Don John, Borachio, and Claudio, as the accuser.
Paladore.	{ Ariodante and Rinaldo.	{ Claudio, as the lover who wrongly suspects his lady.
Rinaldo.	part of Lurcanio (garden-scene).	
Lucio.	{ part of Ariodante (his fighting for the princess).	{ Benedict, as the champion for ho- nour's sake.
Alinda.	Dalinda.	Margaret, in the fraud.

Appreciation of the Law of Lombardy.

As concerns the conduct of the action, the L. of L. is superior to Brag. and more regular. We see it carefully developed in the exposition, led broadly on in the IId act,

rising to its climax in the great scene of the accusation in the III^d act, turn vigorously in the fourth and ending impressively in the catastrophe. — The characters are fewer in number, but the principal ones are more in view and have more real action and stronger passions; they are however less natural and less carefully drawn. Walpole (Letters, vol. VI, p. 499—501) finds fault with all the three great characters. To him „Bireno's conduct on the attack on the princess, seems too precipitate, and not managed... Would it not be more natural for Bireno to incense the king against Paladore than to endeavour to make the latter jealous of Sophia? At least I think Bireno would have more chance of poisoning Paladore's mind, if he did not discover to him that he knew of his passion . . .“ — „It is still more incredible“, he continues, „that Paladore should confess his passion to his rival; and not less so, that a private man and a stranger should doubt the princess's faith, when she had preferred him to his rival, a prince of the blood and her destined husband; and that without the smallest inquiry he should believe Bireno was admitted privately to her apartment, when on her not rejecting him *he* might have access to her openly . . . Paladore's credulity is not of a piece with the account given of his wisdom, which made him admitted to the king's counsel... Either his credulity or his jealousy reduce Paladore to a lover very unworthy of such a woman as Sophia. For her sake I would see him more deserving of her...“ Walpole probably did not know the source of the L. of L., else he would have seen that all these defects are inherent in the „fable“ and Jephson therefore responsible for them only in so far as he made again a „not admirable“ choice of subject. — Insufficiently laboured plots Walpole considered the chief defects of Jephson's plays. „You are so great a poet, Sir,“ he writes (Letters vol. VI, p. 500) „that you have no occasion to labour anything but your plots . . .

When a subject seizes you, your impetuosity cannot breathe till you have executed your plan. You must be curbed, as other poets want to be spurred . . . it is not flattering you to say, that the least you have to do is to write your play . . . If I dared, I would beg you to trust me with your plots, before you write a line . . .“

If in aesthetical value the Law of Lombardy remains far behind Braganza or the Count of Narbonne, it is more interesting as an attempt in a new kind of poetical language, to which perilous adventure Jephson was seduced by Walpole's flatteries in the *Thoughts on Tragedy*, where he says (p. 309): . . . „One art, I think might be used, . . . and yet I would not recommend it to you, if I did not think you capable of employing it, and that is a very new and peculiar style. By fixing on some region of whose language we have little or no idea . . . you might frame a new diction, even out of English, that would have amazing effect . . . (It is much easier to conceive this, than to give rules for it.) . . . Dryden, vast as his genius was, tried the same thing more than once, but failed (Indian Emperor, — Aurengzebe) . . . In short we want new channels for tragedy, and still more for poetry. You have the seeds, Sir, saw them where you will, they will grow. Had I your genius I would hazard a future American story. . . . Examine, Sir, the power of language you command, and let me again recommend to you a diction of your own, at least in some one play . . . Scorn rules, Sir, that cramp genius and substitute delicacy to imagination in a barren language . . .“

„Mr. Jephson followed the advice in the Law of Lombardy, but did not succeed in the attempt“, says a footnote in the posthumous edition of Lord Orford's works, (vol. II, p. 309). To the author himself, Walpole wrote (*Letters*, vol. VI, 500—501): „In general, the language appears to me too metaphoric; especially as used by all

the characters. You seem to me to have imitated Beaumont and Fletcher, though your play is superior to all theirs (!). In truth, I think the diction is sometimes obscure, from being so figurative, especially in the first act... The images are very fine, but demand more attention than common audiences are capable of (In Braganza every image is strikingly clear) . . . Your language is sometimes sublime enough for odes (L. of L. II, 1—12; IV, 71—76; V, 149—159 etc.), which admit the height of enthusiasm, which Horace will not allow to tragic writers. You could set up twenty of our tragic authors with lines that you could afford to reject, though for no reason but their being too fine . . . Will you not think me too difficult and squeamish, when I find the language of the L. of L. too rich?" (Walpole, Letters, vol. VI, p. 500—501.)

The „sweet melody of verse“ is even more enchanting than in Braganza. We feel, the author's effort was most sincere and passionate, but the arch is overstrained. He tried elevation and it resulted in bombast; enthusiasm and intensity of feeling came to verbosity. The new style, at it is, consists in inversions, accumulation of adjectives, most possibly high-flighted and far-fetched figures or comparisons in almost every sentence; audacious constructions of new words, or use of obsolete ones; dilating of most ordinary sayings to the breadth of maxims. Some instances will prove this judgment.

The golden grain of Lombardy
Shall be trod down beneath the fu-
rious heel
Of peasants cas'd in iron, (L.
of L. I 176—78)
Bireno: . . ye ministers of vengeance!
That hide your gory looks in mist-hung
caves,
And roll your deadly eyeballs
o' ver the edge

Courtship's season
Is the short date of woman's
sovereignty (L. of L. I 255—56)
unhusbanded, unfather'd (L.
of L. II 104).
Thou wert my all; a mole that
vexed my eye (L. of L. V 145)
Bireno: . . . Love, an arch-deluder,
which presents the Juno

Of your insatiate daggers,	Their frenzy grasps at, with a zone
shaking ever	unbound;
Dews of oblivious sleep from pour	While, like Ixion's mistress,
stung brows,	the coy queen
Receive me of your hand (L. of L. I	Slumbers on golden beds in
410—15).	high Olympus (L. of L. I
Bireno: . . . Till this keen writhing	362—65).
vulture quit my heart,	
And with blunt beak, and flag-	
ging wings outstretch'd,	
Drowse o'er the mangled victims	
of my rage. (L. of L. I I 416—18)	

The Count of Narbonne.

Introduction.

The author of the *Castle of Otranto*, as he states himself in the preface to the first edition of the novel, thought it a pity the story was not written for the theatre (Walpole Works, vol. II, p. 5), and Bishop Warburton, one of the first readers of it, observed, that the plan of the *Castle of Otranto* was „regularly a drama“ (Warburton, note to Pope's *Imit. of Horace*, Book II, Ep. I, vers 146). — Walpole, who had read Warburton's remark only a few days before he received the manuscript of the *Count of Narbonne*, wrote to Jephson: „You, Sir, have realized his idea, and yet I believe the bishop would be surprised to see how well you have succeeded. One cannot be quite ashamed of one's follies if genius condescends to adopt and put them to sensible use: Miss Aikin flattered me even by stooping to tread in my excentric steps. Her „Fragment“, though but a specimen, shows her talent for imprinting terror. I cannot compliment the author of „*The Old English Baron*“, professedly written in imitation, but as a corrective of the *Castle of Otranto*. You alone, Sir, have kept within nature and made superstition supply the place, of phenomenon, yet acting as the agent of divine justice — a beautiful use of bigotry.“ (Walpole, *Letters*, vol. VII, p. 318.)

It is indeed interesting to see how Jephson was able to make a rational play out of so wild a tale, even without greatly changing the original arrangement of the incidents

or the fundamental lines of the characters. To adjust the tale to the law of the three unities required not too much exertion, as already in the Castle of Otranto the action from the death of Conrad to the abdication of Manfred takes place within the same castle and the church of the adjoining convent.¹⁾ It also comprises not more than five days (in C. of Otr.) and is distributed as follows:

1st day: Preparations for the marriage, — death of Conrad, — Theodore under the helmet;

in the evening: Isabella's flight. Theodore captured in the vaults, imprisoned in the chamber;

during the night: Matilda and Bianca speak to Theodore;

2d day: Jerome's remonstrances to Manfred. — The herald brings Frederick's challenge, — Entry of the men of Vicenza;

at night: Manfred treats with the knight of the gigantic sabre. Isabella flies from the convent. — Matilda with Theodore in the black tower; she arms him and sets him free.

3d day: Theodore defends Isabella against Frederick, who is wounded and nursed at the Castle. — Frederick's and Theodore's tales. — Theodore passes the night with Jerome at church.

4th day: Hippolita consents to the divorce. — Double marriage proposed;

in the evening: the banquet. — The monk of Joppa appears to Frederick;

at night: the catastrophe.

5th day: abdication of Manfred and proclamation of Theodore.

¹⁾ The only exception is formed by the episode of Theodore's defending Isabella against her father, amongst the cliffs, not far from the castle (C. Otr. chapter, III d).

By discarding the episodes and characters which do not contribute to advance the main action, Jephson was able to omit the appearance on the stage of Isabella and Godfrey (Frederick, of C. Otr.).

With them fell naturally the action in which they are mainly concerned, from the evening of the second day to the moment before the catastrophe on the evening of the fourth. By this mere abstraction the Aristotelian limit was nearly reached. The succession of the remaining events had to be slightly accelerated, to do the rest, so that now the action of the C. Narb. comprises even less than 24 hours. That of the first act beginning late in the evening of the first, that of the fifth act ending before night of the second day. — The scene is a medieval castle with the usual equipment of

„Battled towers, the donjon keep,
The loop-hole grates, where captives weep,
The flanking walls that round it sweep.“

(Scott, Marmion I, 1.)

More peculiarly Gothic attributes are the halls, subterranean vaults and passages, the secret trap-doors and the convent with the Gothic church, adjoining the castle-walls. Over the whole is spread that air of awe and mystery which so much impresses our fancy, when we are left alone in the silence of one of those old mansions half in ruins „dim with a dull imprisoned ray“. (Byron, *Pris. of Chil.*, II.) To this „spiritus loci“ corresponds the spirit of the age, with which the superstitious beliefs and the terror excited by mysterious incidents are congenial, as well as the constant terrorism of fate. The epoch intended is hinted at to be that of the Crusades and of feodality.²⁾

²⁾ As little as the C. Otr. is the C. Narb. founded on any real event. The first Count of Narbonne, who was probably a natural son of Louis XV, was at the end of the first French empire ambassador

Contents of the Count of Narbonne.

Act 1st, scene 1st. The Count reproaches and threatens with dismission an officer, who reports that Lady Isabel cannot be found. Then he turns to his old confidant Fabian, complaining that misfortunes fall so thick on his head as scarce to leave him time to breathe. Disease slowly approaching has robbed him of two lovely children, and but yesterday his last son, Edmund, was brought back dead from the woods; his barb had thrown him down the cliffs. And just to-day Edmund was to have married Isabella, Godfrey's daughter. This match would have made the line of Narbonne perpetual in the possession of a sovereignty, for which Godfrey claims to have a more lawful right. — Now all may be lost, for, Godfrey, returned from Palestine has sent to reclaim his daughter and to challenge Raymund, whom he calls a usurper, to single combat. All these signs seem to the Count the first strokes of revengeful fate, which as a prophecy announces, will destroy Raymund's line, a punishment for his father's crime, the murder of Alphonso. Neither Raymund nor Fabian can believe the prophecy, which they think a visionary's raving and a malicious invention of Godfrey, whose challenge therefore is answered with defiance. Fabian goes to look after the fugitive, whilst the Count's thoughts fly back to his last interview with Isabella, when he had offered her his own hand, thus still to secure the advantages of a match with Godfrey's line; she however indignantly refused and fled in horror. — An officer reports that the lady has escaped by a trap-door, with the help of a young peasant, who is carried in. The Count is struck at the features he means to have seen before, and asks for the young man's name and purpose. He answers promptly:

My name is Theodore, my Country, France;

My habit little suited to my mind,

Less to my birth, yet fit for my condition.

(C. of Narb. I, 177—79.)

He frankly confesses to have assisted Isabella in her flight. The Count vexed at the fearless answers has the youth committed to prison, till further evidence prove his real intent. — An un-

of Napoleon at the court of Vienna. He died in 1813 as governor of Thorgau. Besides him, history knows only of Viscounts of Narbonne, „d'abord lieutenants de Gothie, puis marquis, et qui devinrent plus tard seigneurs héréditaires . . .“ Three of them with the name of Raymond; Raymond I, after 966, son of Mafroy; Raymond II, after 1067; Raymond-Berenger after 1123 (Grande Encyclopédie).

wonted heaviness fills Raymund's heart, which „like a well trim'd gal-lant bark“ was wont to mount the waves and dash them off in ineffectual foam“. He sends for Austin, a monk of neighbouring St. Nikolas, whose sanctity and reverend character will be useful engins to smooth to Hortensia the unwelcome proposal of divorce, upon which the Count has decided. — Hortensia joins him, to bring her consolation for the loss of Edmund; she is startled at the unkind question after Adelaide, his daughter, „his all of comfort now“. When she gently reminds him of his former love, he rails with bitter words at the unstable nature of woman-kind and complains again of the disasters which all-round beset him. Yesterday the unquestioned lord of Narbonne he may to-morrow be a beggar. Hortensia too has heard of Godfrey's challenge and on her knees she begs her husband not to fight but, by gentler means to try to divert Godfrey's claim. Rather would she leave this place of horror for the peace of a lonely vale. He haughtily disdains this advice, unworthy of a soldier. But Hortensia has mighty reasons for her prayers; blood cries for revenge in their house. When Raymund was away on an embassy to Italy, his father, dying midst horrible visions, confessed to her his guilt. The tale almost „ices“ Raymund's blood. He will not doubt his father's honour and forbids her ever to utter a word of the secret; then he sends her away to prepare Adelaide to receive a husband; so perhaps might strife with Godfrey be avoided.

Act IId, scene 1st: (a chamber). Jaqueline is refused admittance to Theodore's prison, by Fabian, who keeps strict watch, well knowing his lord's temper. Jaqueline's and her ladies anxiety for Theodore flow from the gratitude they owe him, for having preserved their lives from the hands of out-laws. For this brave deed, Fabian thinks, statues ought to be raised to him, as Adelaide is the fairest woman in creation. Jaqueline bids him to treat the prisoner kindly. Fabian will let him enjoy envery comfort kind care can minister (exit Fab.). — Adelaide is too impatient to await her maid's return; she is grieved when she learns that no admittance is granted. Her fear, her starting tears, her tongue and blushing mien betray her love for Theodore. Often since their first meeting, she has listened to the tale of his life, of his noble birth and his misfortunes; he ought to be honoured in her house, and is kept in chains. Jaqueline bids her not to betray her passion, as it would but draw more speedy vengeance on his head. — (exit Jaqueline). Adelaide is joined by her mother, who wanders about like a gloomy ghost, since her husband's love, her best prop in affliction, is hers no longer. Adelaide, who deeply feels the wrong, would rail at her

father, but is reprimanded by her mother, who thinks patience her own and obedience her daughter's duty, especially as to the intended marriage. Despair seizes Adelaide, when she learns the Count's will; she implores her mother to save her from this cruel order, which would mean death to her (exit). The Countess is surprised at this strange bearing and feels that such reluctance roots deeper than in the „mere nicety of a maiden's fear“; it might mean new sorrows for the house. The Count and Austin meet, entering from opposite sides. Raymund welcomes the priest as an angel of peace. Austin says that his daily task be to subdue his body and to strive for righteousness. He comes as a messenger from Isabella, who has taken sanctuary. Though she is grateful for the hospitality hitherto received, she cannot return . . . The Count, fearing indiscretions, harshly sends his wife away, then bids the monk to continue. Austin knows from her of Raymund's proposal and opposes it with the bold fervour of enkindled zeal. The Count first tries to reason with him, speaking of the deluded hopes of offspring; then he turns to the foreboding prodigies, the cause of which, he thinks, must be a crime, the most fearful according to the laws of the Church: the commixture in marriage of blood too nearly related, as he his and Hortensia's. Austin with indignation demonstrates the shallow mockery of these scruples, which have been silent for twenty years and are merely invented to serve an execrable purpose. Exasperated by the monk's resistance, Raymund tries to intimidate him, but this man fears no menaces. Even if Hortensia should consent to the divorce, he knows, Isabella would never accept the Count's hand; as she never even loved Edmund, her heart must be preoccupied. This hint rises a monstrous jealousy in Raymund's heart. This Theodore! certainly, he must be her lover, — he must die!

Act III, scene 1st (a hall). Adelaide rushes in, in despair; Jaqueline after her. She has learned from her father's slaves that Theodore is to be executed. . She would pray for his life, but Jaqueline warns, that by doing so she would but more sureley loose him, as Raymund would grow furious if he saw his rival for Isabella charm his daughter too. This remark, for a moment, strikes Adelaide with jealousy at her friend; but soon she regains full confidence and love for Theodore. — Fabian comes to clear the hall, as the execution is to take place at once; it breaks the old man's heart to see his master's shame. — Even Austin's prayers are unavailing. Adelaide can endure it no longer; she swoons; — Fabian has her carried away.

Scene 2d: Enter the Count, followed by Austin, who with passionate eloquence remonstrates against this barbarous execution,

this unheard-of injustice and murder. But Raymund will not spare, Theodore, unless the priest consent to join him to Isabella. Theodore is led in. He protests against the unlawful trial. Even the barbarians of Tunis and Algier, he thinks, would show more justice. The crimes he is accused of by the Count, are:—insolence and bold presumptuous love. This accusation rouses the anger of the youth. He is not a villain, he says, but of descent at least as noble as Narbonne's. Austin bids him to tell the story of his life. Theodore says that with his mother he had been carried by pirates to Tunis, where she died, whilst he, a few days ago, was delivered by a Spanish ship and had since been searching for his father, Lord Clarinsal. Austin, who had listened to the tale with growing impatience, rushes forth and embraces the youth, in whom he recognizes his own child. — The Count now interferes. He thinks all he has seen a gross contrivance, to cheat his credulity, and reminds Austin, that nothing can save Theodore's life, but consent to the match with Isabel (exit Count). — When the two Clarinsal are left alone, Austin says that this tyranny will come to a speedy end; the day must come, when the Count will be the subject of their pity. Theodore prays, that Adelaide, his heart's first passion, might be exempted from her father's destruction. This love is a great sorrow for Austin, who sees, it cannot, must not be; nature, heaven, all forbid it, however cruel be the renunciation. At a meet place he will speak to him again.

Act IVth, scene 1st. (a chamber). Adelaide had recovered when she learned that Theodore was still alive. But now the stupendous news of her father's intention of divorcing Hortensia and marrying Isabella reach her. Jaqueline relates the awful scene in the Countess's chamber, when Raymund first confirmed to his wife the inhuman intent, which as a rumour had before been reported to her. „The beauteous mourner“, who has „felt cruelty's strokes, more fell than time's, enters herself, her ears still ringing with the dreadful accusation of incest. Her sorrow is too great to be alleviated by compassion. A crime, he says, has been their wedded life, and hers alone the guilt. All despair at first, she soon regains self-possession from Austin's kind words and her daughter's love. She will bear an outward show of calm, and repay with scorn the deliberate baseness of her husband, whose motives are ambition and lust. Austin takes leave, reminding the ladies, that in case of need they will find protection at the sanctuary. Hortensia bids her daughter to go to pray, that she might be saved from the destruction drawing up on Raymund and perhaps on all his blood (exit Hortensia). — Adelaide sees

Theodore approaching. He reads a paper and turns pale at it. (She retires, — Theodore enters, reading). The letter he received from Austin contains the mystery of his birth and reasons for the necessity of his separation from Adelaide. But at her sight, with the impetuosity of youth and love he forgets all thoughts of fear, and tells her Austin's unreasonable request, which he thinks sprung from old resentment. Adelaide goes to pray at Alphonso's tomb, where Theodore promises soon to join her. He takes the paper up again and reads, how by his mother he is the grandson of Alphonso and must revenge his murder by Raymund's father. Austin, entering, continues the account, saying that „great crimes have lengthened punishments“; not one will remain of the murderer's line, according to the prophecy. Theodore must be ready to fight for his just claim, and if he wins, will then the daughter of his victim accept his bloodstained hand? This conflict of duty and love weighs heavily on the young heart, when Adelaide rushes in, calling for help. A mutiny has broken out against Raymund. The superstitious people call him the heir of usurpation and proclaim Godfrey their lord. Austin hurries out, with persuasion to allay the tumult. Theodore will not let the father of his love die ingloriously, but assist him and thus deserve his daughter. Adelaide herself will arm him.

Act Vth, scene 1st. (a hall). Captive mutineers are sent to prison by the Count. Theodore has fought bravely. Raymund thinks Godfrey must have excited the peasants to the tumult, — or perhaps Jerome? This is however not likely, as this monk's words did more to assuage the storm than all the bravery. Austin and his son might have deserved better thanks than mean suspicion. — The Count wants to see the man who rescued him, when he was born down in the fight; Theodore advances, clad in the armour of Alphonso. Raymund is struck with terror at the sight of what he thinks to be a phantom, — Alphonso, risen from his grave. Fabian explains that indeed Theodore's armour was once worn by Alphonso. Austin begs leave for himself and his son to retire from the castle, now they have freed Raymund. — He bids them to go where neither air nor light may find them (exeunt Count and attendants). — Austin bids Theodore not to lay away his armour; Godfrey will soon be here to assist him, if the tyrant will not accept terms. Gladly would Theodore fight with him, but he is Adelaide's father. Austin reproves him for this passion which lets him forget his duty towards his father and the memory of his mother. Of her they will talk to-night in the lonely cell where he passed these eighteen years. Theodore

eagerly follows his father to the convent, — as there he is to meet his Adelaide.

Scene 2d (another apartment in the castle). The Count states to Fabian that the legend of Alphonso's murder hourly gains ground among the people. He thinks to prevent, by a new bold stroke, the dangers that might flow from that belief. Austin, he thinks, has proposed a match between his son and Isabella, if Godfrey take his part. Therefore, little will he care for the fires of the grey Pontif at Rome, but carry off Isabella from the sanctuary, and make her his bride, or his prisoner. Two officers with twenty men are sent to guard all the ways to the church.

Scene 3d. (inside of a convent). Adelaide rises from before Alphonso's statue. She cannot pray, as her thoughts constantly run away to Theodore. — What may be the secret that stands in the way of their union? — She withdraws, as Austin and Theodore enter. Before the statue of his grandsire, Austin hopes to make Theodore forswear his fatal love; but when the youth perceives Adelaide in tears, praying, — for him perhaps —, he rushes out to her. Austin follows. The Count enters with tottering knees and faltering breath; the silence and the awe of the holy place fill him with terror. An officer reports, that the lady has been found. The Count himself believes to see her, kneeling with Theodore before the altar. Austin joins their hands in marriage. — Mad with rage, Raymund runs up to them and stabs the lady; Theodore is saved from the same dagger by his armour. The officers turn away horrified. The Count returns with a bloody dagger. Theodore follows him. Austin, without, calls to ring the alarm. Attendants with torches bear in Adelaide, deadly wounded. Too late the Count sees his error. Adelaide even begs his pardon for her disobedience and bids her father to treat the mother with kindness. — She dies. To Raymund nothing now remains but wild fury, and madness, and hell, for his crimes. Theodore in his grief, must be with force prevented from suicide. — The Countess enters; she has heard a cry and must see her child. — Despairing, she falls on the corpse, whom with her own blood she would warm to life again. None of the bystanders dare name her the murderer. Raymund himself avows his guilt. He cannot bear her curses: „by heaven abandoned and the plague of earth“, he stabs himself. The Countess amidst the ruin of her house falls on the body of her child. Austin prays for the innocent victims and praises God's infinite justice. — To-morrow the right heir of Narbonne will be crowned.

Characters of the Count of Narbonne and their sources.

In all their essential points the characters of the Count of Narbonne have been adapted from those of the Castle of Otranto, so that we find the following parallels in the list of persons concerned in the two pieces:

Castle of Otranto:	Count of Narbonne:
Manfred, prince of Otranto.	= Raymund, C. of Narbonne.
Hippolita, his wife.	= Hortensia, the Countess.
Conrad, their son †.	= Edmund, their son †.
Mathilda, their daughter.	= Adelaide, their daughter.
Frederick, Marquis of Vicenza.	= Godfrey.
Isabella, Fred.'s daughter.	= Isabella, Godfrey's daughter.
Jerome, a monk (really, Count of Falconara).	= Austin, a monk (Lord of Clarinsal)
Theodore, Jerome's son.	= Theodore, Austin's son.
Bianca, Matild'a attendant.	= Jaqueline, Adelaide's maid.
Alphonso †.	= Alphonso †.

Raymund and Manfred are equally brutal and unscrupulous medieval lords, playing the gloomy despots within their own families, and tyrannising over those who are subjected to them only by their strong sense of duty. Artful and cruel, proud and jealous, suspicious and irascible, almost without any touches of remorse, they never shrink from perfidy or treachery. — Walpole had an apprehension that his Manfred was too ruffian-like, and tried to alleviate the painful impression, by assuring us that „Manfred was not one of those savage tyrants, who wanton in cruelty unprovoked“ (C. of Otr., p. 26), that „his temper was naturally human“, that „his heart was capable of being touched“ (C. of Otr., p. 43). But not in a single instance he acts according to motives which might justify so favourable an opinion of his character. Though Jephson avoided this contradiction, he did not succeed in developing another hint of Walpole, that „his fortune had given an asperity to his temper . . .“ (C. Otr., p. 26). For a moment only Raymund's grief at „the untimely death“ of his children,

especially Edmund's (C. Narb. I, 13—15, 19—35), and his superstition (C. Narb. I, 34—35), seem in the first scene to be destined to win our pity for him, or to account for his bad temper, as vented on the officer. (C. Narb. I, 1—9); but temper is not character. His further conduct makes us soon forget that he had ever any other motives but „pride and wild blood.“ (C. of Narb. IV, 124.) It is undoubtedly „foolish moisture“ which works to his eyes in III, 204, caused less by the pathetic sight before him than by anger at his enemies rejoicings. His voluntary death and his cursing his own villany cannot atone for all the abject cruelty and felony of the parricide. The catastrophe inspires awe, not pity, because he is not a moral hero.

Nor florid prose, nor honey'd lies of rhyme

Can blazon evil deeds, or consecrate a crime.“

(Byron, Child Harold, I, 3.)

There is however more justice in Jephson's solution, than in Walpole's, who, with no other means but thunder, earthquake, and howling of the giant, brings Manfred to repentance, voluntary abdication and retreat to a monastery.

„The characters of the mother and daughter,“ wrote Walpole to Jephson (Letters, vol. VII, p. 318, „you have rendered more natural by giving jealousy to the mother and more passion to the daughter.“ Hortensia, like Hippolita, is the ever-loving all-enduring mater dolorosa; „a saint, an ideal form of virtue and female loveliness“, even in the opinion of the tyrannic lord (C. Narb. II, 297—302). She continues to love and to obey her husband, though her sympathies are paid back with hard words (C. Narb. II, 150—152); but when he accuses her of incest (C. Narb. IV, 47—50; C. Otr., p. 41) and proposes divorce, she does not, like Hippolita, vent her grief in uneffectual tears, — or even consent to it, — but the natural jealousy, which once made her love him

doubly (C. Narb. II, 146—152), now fills her breast with despair and unspeakable hating (C. Narb. IV, 134—140), which breaks forth at the catastrophe in furious curses (C. Narb. V, 338—345). She has no need of the constant assistance of the friar (C. Otr., p. 75); she follows the laws of her own heart and the impulse of her passions. Most of her other attributes she has again from Hippolita, as sterility (C. Otr., p. 14, 20) — (C. Narb. II 259—60), dislike of the gloomy grandeur of the usurped power (C. Otr., p. 78 — C. Narb. I, 315—16). Jephson justified this inclination by inserting the tale of old Raymund's death and the terrible secret of his crime (C. Narb. I 357—80). This story is constructed upon Manfred's account of Alfonzo's murder by Ricardo (C. Otr., p. 89). The dignity and passion, the jealousy and affliction of this character, made it a most successful part on the stage (Walpole, Letters, vol. VIII, p. 111).

According to Jephson's stage-direction, the Countess after the catastrophe „falls on the body of Adelaide“ (C. of Narb. V 364—65). Mrs. Younge, in the first representation, took it to mean „dying“, and acted accordingly. Walpole, who found in the green-room that this end was thought rather „too shocking“ (also Baker's judgement, Biogr. Dram., vol. II, p. 135, no 443), directed her to be carried off, as if only in a swoon, „as it does not appear requisite that she should die“ (Walpole, Letters, vol. VIII, p. 111; vol. VII, p. 317). In his novel there is rather an ambiguous passage on this point.³⁾

To Matilda Walpole allows amiability, a pale face and abundant sighs, and calls her occasionally „a most beautiful young lady“ (C. Otr., p. 13). — Jephson makes old, rusty Fabian confess of Adelaide:

³⁾ C. Otr. p. 86 . . . „the mightiness of her grief deprived her of her senses, and she fell lifeless to the earth in a swoon“ . . . (a few lines later she lives again however).

„I think there does not breath another like her;
It makes me young to see her lovely eyes;
Such charity! Such sweet benevolence!
So fair and yet so humble, prais'd for ever,
Nay, wonder'd at, for nature's rarest gifts,
Yet lowlier than the lowest“ (C. Narb. II 43—48).

In giving „more passion“ to Adelaide, the dramatist took care to account for it by Jaqueline's tale (C. Narb. II 23—34), in which Theodore is dexterously made the preserver of her life, thus giving a longer date to their acquaintance and a more natural account for their love, than Walpole in their nightly conversation out of the windows (C. Otr., p. 33, 34). — In the 1st scene of the III^d act, when she swoons, Fabian is made to take care of her and given an opportunity of expressing his sorrow at the shameful cruelty of the Count. In the C. of Otr. Manfred himself carries her out. Adelaide's prayers against the marriage her father will force her into, are literally taken from Matilda's part (C. Narb. II 168—92; C. Otr., p. 70—71). In her despair, she finds words almost like Sophia's in the Law of Lombardy (C. Narb. act III^d, scene 1st; L. of L. III 317 ff.).

„More passion“ has improved the character of Theodore too. His attributes: „comeliness and grace, baits to catch all women“ (C. Narb. II 21), his steady courage, his warmth and frankness, noble birth and adventurous youth, are usual with the romantic lovers of Gothic fiction. His descent from Alphonso makes him the nearest heir of Narbonne. The only change in the genealogical table of the persons involved concerns Manfred's (Raymund's) line, as in the Castle of Otranto already the third generation of the usurper's issue is reigning, whilst in the Count of Narbonne, Raymund is the son of the murderer.

Theodore's descent:⁴⁾

Alphonso. (Alfonzo).	Victoria, called a daughter of Vicenza in C. Narb. (no name in C. Otr.)
Austin, Clarinsal. (Jerome, Falconara).	they had a daughter, not named in either work.
<hr/>	
Theodore. (Theodore).	
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Godfrey's (Frederick's) claim: Alphonso's sister.	The house of Narbonne (Otranto). Riccardo (only in C. Otr. where he is the murderer of Alfonzo).
Godfrey (Frederick).	Raymund (only in the C. of Narb. the murderer of Alphonso, not named in C. Otr.).
Isabella. (Isabella).	Raymund. Hortensia (Manfred) (Hippolita)
<hr/>	
Adelaide. (Matilda).	Edmund †. (Conrad †).

Theodore's account of his youth varies little. The place of his birth in the C. Otr. is Sicily, in the C. Narb. Languedoc. In the former he is made a slave with his mother in Algier, in the latter in Tunis (C. Narb. III 175 ff; C. Otr., p. 66—67). A Spanish ship in both freed him. To the novelist his father's testimony and the striking resemblance to Alphonso were not sufficient proofs of Theodore's claim; he added the sign of the bloody arrow below the shoulder (C. Otr., p. 45) — Jephson's solution of Theodore's love-intrigue with Adelaide is more satisfactory than Walpole's, who lets the dying Matilda assure her father she had only been „praying side by side with Theodore“ (C. Otr., p. 86) and who, though Theodore repeatedly protests he did not love Isabella, is forced into a melancholy marriage with her in the last sentence. — Jephson had in the first draught represented Theodore as fainting after Narbonne's last speech; Walpole more judi-

⁴⁾ The names used in the C. Otr. are given in parantheses.

ciously suggested to „have him fall in a transport of rage and despair, immediately on the death of Adelaide and be carried off by Austin's orders.“ The amendment was accepted.

The „capital and laborious part of Austin the monk“ (Walpole, Letters, vol. VIII, p. 104), is very dramatic in the novel as well as in the play. The character was left unchanged in the mainpoints by Jephson, though again improved by intenser passion. With the strength of conviction and religious zeal, Austin opposes the Count's sinful intent of divorce (C. Narb. II 21—555), whilst Jerome feigns consent (C. Otr. 41). Though he dearly loves his new-found child, he would never, „not for his life“ or his own liberty, betray his duty and render Isabella to the tyrant (C. Narb. 114). — He is detained by force at the castle (C. Narb. IV 148) and conspires openly with Godfrey, (C. Narb. V 88—98) whilst Jerome dares hardly mention Frederick's name (C. Otr., p. 48).

In drawing his domestics, Walpole pretends to have imitated „that great master of nature, Shakespeare“. „I feel more proud,“ he says, „of having imitated, however faintly, weakly and at distance so masterly a pattern, than to enjoy the entire merit of invention, unless I could have marked my work with genius as well as with originality“ (2d preface to C. Otr., p. 11). „Figures like Polonius, and the Roman citizens in Julius Cesar“ were present to his mind, ~~and~~ and we may presume some of the fools and witty servants of Shakespeare's plays. But if Walpole's assurance were to be taken by the letter, we would have to tax him a very clumsy imitator. His Bianca alone is allowed some traces of natural sense and temper, which have all flown into the figure of Jaqueline, whom Jephson raised to the rank of a „confidante“ similar to Ines in Brag.. Jaquez, Roderick, and Lopez of the C. Otr. are altogether foolish slaves and live in continual fear of

spectres and prodigies. Jephson discarded the whole lot of these caricatures and created in their stead the sympathetic old Fabian. He is the living chronicle of the good old tradition of the house, faithful and upright in his service and grieved at the calamities he sees drawing up as a consequence of the Count's recklessness (C. Narb. III 57—59). —

All the editions of the C. Narb. record in their lists of the dramatic personae the characters of Thybalt and Renchild (Dibdin conscientiously even records the names of the first performers); they are however mere dummies, and the two officers are hardly more. In Dick's edition the parts of Thibalt and Renchild fall together with those of the officer's (Dick's C. Narb. V 133, 145—46).

Jephson nowhere tells why he shifted the scene from Otranto to Narbonne; but we may easily presume that it was with a view to honour his friend's Mysterious Mother, which too plays at the castle of Narbonne. Besides that of the place, the names of the tragic mother (Countess of Narbonne) and of her son (Edmund) are identical in the two tragedies. From the Myst. Mother our author may have learnt how to make superstition take the place of prodigies. In this play as in the C. Narb. calamities harrow up the credulous minds; signs and prophecies here and there forebode the end of the guilty race of Narbonne.

(p. 53) Myst. Mother: Benedict:
 . . . my prophetic soul
 Views the red falchion of eternal
 justice
 Cut off jour sentenc'd race . . .
 Benedict (p. 84):
 — the destroying angel's kindling brand
 Smokes in the tow'rs of Narbonne.
 (p. 68) Benedict: Wherefore hast thou
 drawn
 On Narbonne's plains, already visited

C. Narb IV 281—84; Austin:
 Why speak the fates ly signs and
 prodigies,
 Why one by one falls this devoted line,
 Accomplishing the dreadful prophecy,
 That none should live t'enjoy the
 fruits of blood?
 (C. Narb I 334—44) Countess:
 And are not prodigies then mighty
 reasons?

(Myst. Mother p 85) Countess:	(C. of Narb I 151) Count:
Hah! is this sorcery? or is't my husband?	... ah, what art thou? ...
... hah! who art thou then?	and. (V 33) Count:
or (p 101), Countess:	Ha! angels, shelter me!
... Phrency shield me!	Are miracles renew'd?
I know the foe, — see! he points his lance!	Art thou not risen from the mould- ring grave?

The imminence of the catastrophe is forshadowed in both by a monk, and in a similar strain.

Myst. Mother p 112 Benedict to Florian:	C. of Narb. III 256 Austin to Theodore:
— Judge heaven between us!	Think not of vengeance now;
If ere the dews of nigt shall fall, thou see not	Pass but a little space, we shall behold him
The cup of wrath pour'd out, and triple woes	The object of our pity, not our anger;
O'ertake unheard-of crimes; call me false prophet.	Yes, he must suffer; my rapt soul forsees it.

Appreciation of the Count of Narbonne.

The Count of Narbonne must be ranked as the best of Jephson's productions; it surpasses all the others, equally as regards force of character, intensity of feeling, strength of expression and well constructed plot, in which the development is at once natural and unexpected, and the interest uniformly kept alive. In style and language it marks a return from the excursion in the Law of Lombardy to the tradition of Braganza. It is however far more carefully laboured and written with better knowledge of the stage and the audience. The conduct of the action and the command of language are not less vigorous than in the Law of Lombardy, but sound and natural as in Braganza. Walpole praised the diction as „very beautiful, often poetic and yet, what I admire, very simple and natural; and when necessary rapid, concise and sublime“. — The verses are less smooth and musical, all to the great advantage of the colour of reality. Here for the first time; Jephson

seriously tried to make the language of each person correspond to its character, giving a haughty, abrupt, commanding tone to the Count, a measured, weighty, eloquent phrase to Austin, simple girlish talk to Adelaide and the fiery word of youth and passion to Theodore.

On the „conduct“, as he calls it, Walpole found nothing material to criticize and much to praise, above all the admirable manner of Jephson's handling of the bulky apparatus of prodigies and impossibilities which fill the Castle of Otranto; that „paste-board machinery of a pantomime“, as Hazlitt calls it (Lectures on the Comic Writers, Lecture VI, on Engl. Novelists). „The big man whose sword is dug up in one quarter of the globe and whose helmet drops from the clouds in another, and who, after clattering and rustling for some days, ends by kicking the house down“ (Macaulay, Essay on Walpole's Letters, p. 269), is improbable enough, even in a Gothic novel. So would be the sign of the bloody arrow, the brazen trumpet which sounds by itself, the tempests caused by the waving plumes of the helmet and the statue bleeding from the nose. These enormities however furnished our dramatist excellent materials for illustrating the effects of terror and fear on the credulous and superstitious minds. The prophecy of the approaching destruction of Narbonne's house, for instance, works differently on every character. „It loosens the vassals' faith“ and turns their tears for the death of Edmund into „gloomy pause and gaping reverence“ and makes to their eyes the calamities of the Count appear „as the marvellous accomplishment of revelation (C. Narb. I 105—10). For Austin it means the beginning of the lengthened punishment of great crimes (C. Narb. IV 280—85). Fabian thinks it „a visionary's dream“, the raving of an enthusiast (C. Narb. I 36—39). The Count's heart it fills with heaviness (C. Narb. I 256) and to Hortensia it renders Narbonne „a detested place“ and

the castle a house of horror, for whose gloomy grandeur and proud battlements she would not heave a sigh of regret (C. Narb. I 315—28). The picture walking out of its pannel in the Castle of Otranto (p. 22) we have again in the ravings of Raymund's dying father (C. Narb. I 365—372):

One object seem'd to harrow up his soul,
The picture of Alphonso in the chamber,
On that his eye was set. Methinks I see him;
His ashy hue, his grizzled, bristling hair,
His palms wide spread. For ever would he cry,
„That awful form — how terrible he frowns!
See how he bares his livid, leprous breast,
And points the deadly chalice!“

Though the miracles are neither demonstrated nor described, we feel the pangs, which weigh down the guilty conscience of the Count, when he speaks of the „graves casting up their sleepers, earth convulsed, meteors that glare,“ his children's „timeless death“ (C. Narb. II 261—264). The apparition of Theodore in Alphonso's armour startles him; „the sombrous horrors of the long drawn aisles of the church“, where the echo of his own steps alone is heard, make his knee totter; the tombs seem to speak in „deep-fetched groans“, whilst the air round him is filled with invisible hosts; deep thunder rolls, when he has murdered his child; he feels lightning shiver him, when he beholds the error (C. Narb. V 218—28). This is no longer „absurd machinery“ (Macaulay, p. 269) but poetry of the most effective kind.

This atmosphere of superstition hanging about the persons and the active interference of fate (by the prophecy), make the Count of Narbonne a play unlike anything in its time, — except the Mysterious Mother, to which must be

allowed the honour of having been the first drama of a new kind, — not „the last tragedy“, as Byron called it (Preface to Marino Faliero). — One might call them „Gothic tragedies“, — to please Walpole, — or „Schicksalstragödien“ (tragedies based on fatalism), though this appellation is of more recent origin. In the Mysterious Mother, we have already the fatal day (the 20th of September); to it corresponds in the Count of Narbonne the prophecy, which like the sword of Damocles hangs over the house of Narbonne. But Jephson as yet made a vigorous attempt to make his persons responsible for their fate, by developing it out of their passions and defects of character.

Jephson's place in literature.

The main-part of Jephson's literary work was produced between 1768 (68—71 Bachelor) and 1787 (87 Love and War). Critics almost unanimously treat this period as extremely barren and uninteresting. Gosse calls it „singularly dull, mechanical and uninteresting“. From the general doom must however be exempted the comedy, which enjoyed a blooming time from about 1770 to 1780, since it saw not only Sheridan's pieces, but also „She stoops to Conquer“, by Goldsmith (73), „the Westindian“, by Cumberland (71), „Three weeks after marriage“, by Murphy (76).

Tragedy however was languishing thince the death of Rowe, Otway and Southerne. Though a good play appeared from time to time, none achieved a signal triumph or was able to keep the stage for a long time. Even men who attained highest glory in other walks failed when they attempted tragic composition. Thomson, Young, Johnson, Walpole and Mason, none would now be remembered if they had no other claims to fame but their tragedies. Though none of them had very considerable dramatic qualifications, the causes of their failures were not alone the defects of their powers, but the diseases of the stage, which had long become incurable. The strictest application of the sanctified rules of French and English critics could not reinvigorate the „classic“ sufferer, whose end seemed to have been hastened by the resurrection of the old national drama, especially Shakespeare's.

Nor was the rise of some very great actors altogether an encouragement for the authors. Men like Garrick, Sheridan, Colman, though they rescued acting from the pitiful state in which it was in Fielding's time (Jos. Andrews, book III, chapter X), turned tyrants of their contemporary authors, by their partiality and negligence as managers.¹⁾ As they usually had a very high opinion of their own talents as play-wrights, their jealousy naturally set them up against successful and more able outsiders. Sheridan illustrates the fact in the Critic (I; 1, p. 257):

„Sneer: I should have thought now it would have been better cast (as the actors call it) at Drury Lane.

Sir Fretful. Oh lud no! never send a play there while I live. Hark ye! (Whispers Sneer).

Sneer. Writes himself! I know he does —

Sir Fret. I say nothing . . . but this I will say: through all my knowledge of life, I have observed that there is not a passion so strongly rooted in the human heart as envy.

Sneer. I believe you have reason for what you say, indeed.

Sir Fret. Besides — I can tell you, it is not always safe to leave a play in the hands of those who write themselves“

— A real „service de sûreté“ had to be organized, to prevent the spies and hirelings of the rival theatres from hissing the piece down in the first performance.²⁾ After this care had to be taken, that the actors could

¹⁾ Jephson's Vitellia mouldered for a year in Garrick's desk and was rejected perhaps without being looked at. — The C. Narb. was buried for many months in Sheridan's office, until Walpole's interference.

²⁾ Jephson was in great anxiety for the C. Narb. for which he apprehended ungenerous acts from Sheridan.

not commit too many of their „properties“ and not too gross ones.³⁾

To these difficulties, authors had to reckon with throughout the whole 18th century, came in Jephson's time strong antitragic prejudices of the public and actors (Walpole had seen the same troop one night murder a tragedy and on the next carry the house to a frenzy of enthusiasm with comedy. — *Thoughts on Trag.*, vol. II, p. 306—307).

To achieve durable fame on such a stage, or even to become its reformer, wanted a stronger genius and more knowledge of the theatre and the public than Jephson had; his efforts were however very sincere and are well worth to be remembered. With Braganza he tried to revive the purely classic tragedy, taking Otway as his model. In the Law of Lombardy he attempted new ways in style and language and in the Count of Narbonne, he hit on new wells of dramatic inspiration, though in the „technique“ of both he remained faithful to the laws of the classic critics. — If with Braganza, and perhaps also with Vitellia, he ought to be ranked as one of the last representatives of the French school, he walks, in his later works towards a romantic ideal; not very conscientiously, nor very energetically, more pushed by Walpole than pulled by his own vocation. His works are the productions of an earnestly labouring artist, not the children of his life-blood. As none of the great characters is wholly his own, as none is drawn directly from the rich store of life, but as all are merely fictions built on fictions, they lack the highest tragic necessity, truth and life-like colour and make Jephson's plays mere tragedies of circumstances, not tragedies of character. In each of the plots there is a fundamental point of improbability first to be accepted, before the

³⁾ As seating the duke of Braganza on a high throne in the 2d act of *Brag.* (Walpole; *Thoughts on Trag.* vol. II, p. 312.)

action and the situations flow naturally from each other. In Braganza, it is the Duke's timidity and not hero-like character, his loving a women far more than his country's liberty and the welfare of his subjets. In the Law of Lombardy we have the contradictions in the characters of Bireno and Paladore and the fantastical law; in the Count of Narbonne, the fatalism, the inheritance of the guilt and Theodore's mysterious descent. The incidents are such as could not, without great violation of truth, be represented as having taken place in England; Jephson therefore invariably chose for the scene of his plays the south of Europe, „where“, says Walter Scott, who remarked the same tendency in the novels of Mrs. Radcliffe, „human passions, like the weeds of the climate, are supposed to attain portentuous growth under the fostering sun; . . . and where feudal tyranny and Catholic superstition still continue to exercise their sway over the slave and bigot, and to indulge to the haughty lord, or more haughty priest, that sort of despotic power, the exercise of which seldom fails to deprave the heart, and disorder the judgment“ (Scott, Novelists, p. 230).

Many of Jephson's faults, as Walpole rightly told him, derived from his too great ease in writing his plays; this lightness, as we may call it, too easily misleads into affectation and diletantism. Beauties of detail will occasionally too much absorb him, but never so as to let him lose sight of the great line of the action, which is never dull, but always highly dramatic. The moral is always just and rigorously observed; the diction is that of a genuine poet.

His works, in short, show Jephson to have been a useful labourer in the vine-yard of literature, a man of taste, judgment and good sense. „If he had not the full flame of genius“, says an old critic in his praise (Cham-

bers), „he had at least its scintillating light“, and though his works are now faded, his name deserves to be remembered by the literary historian as that of a poet of transition, who took the standard of the great English tragedy from the hands of the dying classicism, bore it high with honour through a dreary period, towards the brighter lights of a new age.

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